Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hungarian, CSFR, Polish Refugee Offices To Cooperate *[Budapest Radio]* 1
Reportage on Krakow Trilateral Summit 1
PAP Previews Agenda 1
Ministers Discuss SFRY *[PAP]* 1
Skubiszewski on SFRY *[Warsaw Radio]* 1
Jeszenszky on Talks *[TANJUG]* 2
Customs Union, EC Ties Viewed *[PAP]* 2
Havel Addresses Summit *[Prague Radio]* 2
Further on Walesa Comments *[Warsaw Radio]* 4
Leaders Critical of West *[Budapest Radio]* 4
Declaration Issued *[PAP]* 4
Leaders Hold News Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* 5
Baker's NATO Plan Welcomed *[MTI]* 7
Ministers Welcome Euro-Atlantic Pact Idea *[Prague Radio]* 8
Havel, Antall News Conference *[Prague TV]* 8

ALBANIA

Government, Party Leaders Discuss Yugoslavia *[ATA]* 9
Army on Alert Along Border With SFRY *[TANJUG]* 9
Secretary of State Meets Swiss Economic Official *[ATA]* 9
Offshore Oil Exploration Agreements Signed *[ATA]* 10
Country Joins European Reconstruction Bank *[AFP]* 10
Government Statement on Land Distribution *[Tirana Radio]* 10
Socialist Party's Social Program Outlined *[ZERI I POPULLIT 17 Sep]* 10

BULGARIA

1-Day Official Visit of Greek Prime Minister 13
Mitsotakis Greeted at Airport *[Sofia Radio]* 13
2 Prime Ministers Sign Treaty *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Sofia-Athens Hot Line Installed *[BTA]* 13
Athens Report of Treaty Signing *[Athens Radio]* 14
Minister Vulkov's Statement to UN on Yugoslavia *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAMYA 1 Oct]* 15
Vulkov Returns From New York *[Sofia Radio]* 16
Agreements on Assistance for Kozloduy Plant Signed *[BTA]* 16
Kozloduy Construction Workers Threaten Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 16
Constitutional Court of Justice Elects Chairman *[Sofia Radio]* 17
SDS Delegation's Bonn Visit Reported *[BTA]* 17
New Conservative Party Introduces Itself *[Sofia Radio]* 17

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG President Addresses Federal Assembly *[Hamburg DPA]* 18
Dientsbier Outlines Contents of Soviet Treaty *[CSTK]* 18
Dienstbier, Genscher Initial Treaty *[Hamburg DPA]* 19
Havel on Republic, NATO Security Issues *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 7 Oct]* 19
Havel Views Republic, Referendum, Treaty Issues *[Prague Radio]* 20
Daily: No Chance for Havel's Referendum *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 2 Oct]* 21
Federal Constitution Talks End, More Planned *[Prague Radio]* 22

Conflicting Opinions on Screening Bill Reported *[LIDOVE NOVINY 3 Oct]* 22
Poll Shows ODS, HZDS Strongest Parties *[CSTK]* 23
Ruml: Talks With KGB 'Did Not Dispel' Fears *[CTK]* 24

HUNGARY

YPA Asks Permission To Withdraw Via Hungary *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Response Expected 'Soon' *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Defense Spokesman Keleti Views Yugoslav Crisis *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 5 Oct]* 25
MDF Favors Slovene, Croatian Recognition *[NEPSZAVA 4 Oct]* 26

POLAND

'Breakthrough' in Soviet Relations Reported *[PAP]* 28
Bielecki, Antall View Bilateral Talks in Warsaw *[Warsaw Radio]* 28
Call for UN Talks on SFRY *[PAP]* 28
Report on Interior Ministry Activity Completed *[PAP]* 29
Minister Explains State Intervention in Economy *[PAP]* 29
Ministers' Council on EC Membership, Environment *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2 Oct]* 30
Government Spokesman Calls Campaign 'Slanderous' *[Warsaw Radio]* 30

ROMANIA

Iliescu Wants Stanculescu, Nastase in Next Cabinet *[ROMANIA LIBERA 4 Oct]* 31
Iliescu Cites Requisites of New Government *[ROMPRES]* 31
Miners Trade Union Administration Talks Begin *[ROMPRES]* 32
Cosma: Government Lost Touch With Masses *[ROMPRES]* 32
Civic Alliance Leader Calls For 'Early Elections' *[ROMPRES]* 32
Daily Says Roman Will Govern 'By Proxy' *[ROMPRES]* 33
Senate Adopts Intelligence Service Bill *[ROMPRES]* 33
Bank Governor on Resumption of Currency Auctions *[ROMPRES]* 34
'Soaring' Foodstuff, Other Prices Examined *[ROMPRES]* 34
Economy Minister on Prices *[ROMPRES]* 34
Industry Minister on Oil Purchase From Iran *[ROMPRES]* 34
Statistics on Emigration, Immigration Reported *[ROMPRES]* 35

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Presidency Considers UN Talks, Bosnia Security *[TANJUG]* 36
Issues Statement on Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 36
Markovic Statement on Missile Attack on Banksi Dvori 37
Accuses Kadijevic of 'Attempted Murder' *[TANJUG]* 37
Calls For Kadijevic's Replacement *[TANJUG]* 37
Defense Secretariat Denies Sanctioning Zagreb Bombing *[Belgrade TV]* 38
Air Force Command Denies Bombing *[TANJUG]* 38
National Guard Denies Aircraft Used *[TANJUG]* 38
Kostic: YPA Determined To Free Troops in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 38
Appeals To Croats to Preserve Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 39

International

Gorbachev Message to Presidency Urges Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 39
Croatian Foreign Minister, Kohl Discuss Peace Efforts *[TANJUG]* 39
Ambassador to CSFR Praises, EC, UN Arms Embargo *[CSTK]* 39

Slovenia

Full Republic Assembly Meets in Closed Session *[TANJUG]* 40
Army 'Must Withdraw' by 18 Oct *[TANJUG]* 40
New Currency Called 'Tolar' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 40

Border Checkpoints Open Between Croatia, Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 41
Foreign Minister Sees 'Selective Steps' Toward Autonomy *[TANJUG]* 41
Ministers Comment on Army Withdrawal, Passports *[Ljubljana Radio]* 42
Kucan Doubts Rapid Settlement of Conflict Possible *[Paris LE MONDE 5 Oct]* 42
Kucan Comments on Federation's Demise, Breakup Options *[Paris LE FIGARO 4 Oct]* 43
Kucan Interviewed on Independence, Future Prospects *[Vienna AZ 8 Oct]* 44
Foreign Minister Comments on Independence Efforts
[Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS 4 Oct] 45
Air Traffic Control Agreement Negotiated With Austria *[Ljubljana Radio]* 45

Croatia

Government Rejects Presidency's Cease-Fire Conditions *[TANJUG]* 46
Assembly Session Begins, Agenda Adopted *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Independence Decision Endorsed *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Greguric Urges End to Moratorium *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Federal Forces Launch Attacks Against Zagreb 47
Air Force Bombs Tudjman Residence *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Missile Attacks Target Barracks *[TANJUG]* 47
Three Aircraft Downed Near Vinkovci *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Air Force Destroys Korcula Radio Facilities *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Aircraft Shell Downtown Osijek; No Injuries Reported *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
145 Injured in 'Fierce Attacks' on Karlovac *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
Army Troops Reported Advancing to Zadar Town Center *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
Army, Air Force Attacks on Zagreb, Karlovac, Zadar *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
Tudjman Holds Regular News Conference in Zagreb 49
Hopes for More International Aid *[Zagreb Radio]* 49
Says 'Croatia Will Become Independent' *[TANJUG]* 50
Tudjman: Croatian Independence Moratorium Ends Today *[TANJUG]* 50
Seeks Legitimized Independence *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Deputy Prime Minister on Independence Possibilities *[Budapest Radio]* 50
Krajina Stresses Right To Foreign Recognition *[TANJUG]* 51
Krajina To Participate in Select Hague Committees *[TANJUG]* 51
Croatian Serbs Send Delegation to Hague Talks *[TANJUG]* 52
Illegal TIGR Group Reestablishes, Advocates Violence *[TANJUG]* 52

Serbia

Foreign Minister on Territorial Claims, Cease-Fire *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 7 Oct]* 52
Fighting in Okucani Area; 200 'Ustashas' Killed *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Serbian Royal Family Returns to Belgrade *[TANJUG]* 54
Kosovo Seen as Unlikely To Heed Mesic's Call to Fight *[Belgrade Radio]* 54

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Declares Bosnia-Hercegovina's Neutrality *[Sarajevo Radio]* 55
Izetbegovic Meets With Serb, Croat Representatives *[Sarajevo Radio]* 55

Montenegro

Republic's Reponse to Mobilization Outlined *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Army Claims 150 Croatians Killed Near Dubrovnik *[TANJUG]* 56
'Enormous' Damage in Sisak; 'Fierce Attack' in Dubrovnik *[Zagreb Radio]* 56
Serbs Kill Muslim Youth; 'Mass Emigration' From Sipovo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 57

Macedonia

Assembly Rejects 'Illegitimate' Presidency Decisions *[Belgrade Radio]* 57

Hungarian, CSFR, Polish Refugee Offices To Cooperate

LD2909131591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] The Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and the Polish offices on refugee affairs have agreed to cooperate. As a first step, the three countries will coordinate how the refugees can be dealt with by applying uniform, legal rules. Since 1988, 72,000 refugees have been registered in Hungary. At the moment, some 25,000 Yugoslav citizens are staying in the country, 1,600 of them at the receiving stations. The number of refugees registered in Czechoslovakia is 700 and in Poland 1,000.

Reportage on Krakow Trilateral Summit

PAP Previews Agenda

LD0510162491 Warsaw PAP in English 1310 GMT 5 Oct

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—The first-day schedule of the two-day Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian summit which started in Krakow Saturday provides for meetings of the three countries' foreign ministers and ministers for foreign economic relations. The meeting of presidents and prime ministers of the three countries, as well as signing of bilateral treaties are due tomorrow. Following a joint inagural ceremony, Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian Foreign Ministers, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Jiri Dienstbier and Geza Jeszenszky, are meeting independently of the ministers for foreign economic relations of the three countries, Dariusz Ledworowski, Vladimir Dlouhy, and Bela Kadar, respectively. The Polish diplomacy chief is scheduled to give a gala dinner in honour of the guests as another point on the agenda Saturday. Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is due to arrive in Krakow later Saturday.

The second day of the summit Sunday opens with the arrival in Krakow of president Lech Walesa of Poland, due to be followed by the arrival of president Vaclav Havel and Prime Minister Marian Calfa of Czechoslovakia. President Walesa and Prime Minister Bielecki are next scheduled to greet President Havel and Prime Minister Antall, the ceremony will be followed by a mass officiated at the royal cathedral at the Wawel Castle and attended by the three delegations. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski is going to be present. The summit meeting proper is due to be held at the royal Wawel Castle, the symbol of Polish monarchy and witness to earlier stages of the three countries' history. As the next point on Sunday agenda, bilateral treaties between Poland and Czechoslovakia on the one hand and Poland and Hungary—on the other will be signed. Also, initialling or signing a similar treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary is possible. Later in the day, the Polish president will give a luncheon party in honour of the president of Czechoslovakia and the prime minister of Hungray.

A joint press conference of the three delegations will be held shortly before the departure of the Czechoslovak delgation and the Polish president and Prime Minister.

Jozsef Antall, the Hungrian prime minister, together with his entourage, instead is going to stay in Krakow for an official visit to Poland October 7-8.

Ministers Discuss SFRY

LD0510192291 Warsaw PAP in English 1804 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 5—The Hungarian foreign minister told newsmen here Saturday that the foreign ministers of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary attending the tripartite summit in the Polish southern city of Krakow exchanged views on the situation in Yugoslavia.

Geza Jeszensky said "the three countries support the initiatives of the European Communities aimed to put an end to the bloody warfare in Yugoslavia."

The Hungarian foreign minister expressed his country's satisfaction at the agreement reached in The Hague and the successfully negotiated decision to stop the offensive of the federal army in Croatia.

"We are very happy about it, but ceasefire has been achieved several times already, and never lasted long," Jeszensky said.

Skubiszewski on SFRY

LD0510215491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by unidentified correspondent after a tripartite meeting between delegations from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary in Krakow on 5 October—recorded]

[Text] [Skubiszewski] We talked mainly about the Yugoslav crisis, about its repercussions for Europe and for our relations in that region. We understand Hungary's particular interest since it is Yugoslavia's neighbor. We believe that our three countries could often play a part in peacefully resolving this difficult crisis. We support the EC, CSCE, and UN stand. We considered the latest decisions from the conference in The Hague on Yugoslavia. This is a source of concern to us. This whole crisis plays a part in European cooperation and European unity.

[Correspondent] Minister, can we expect publication of the joint declaration of the political group today?

[Skubiszewski] That would be too early because tomorrow a meeting will be held of the two presidents and the premier, and the Krakow declaration will be finally agreed and made public tomorrow. We have also worked on the text of the declaration today before noon. The talks were devoted not only to Yugoslavia but also to the general examination of the text of the d eclaration, of

those points which still needed to be discussed. This discussion was very good because although sometimes the media report that there are differences of opinion—even fundamental ones—today's discussion showed a far-reaching concurrence of views. There may be differences in accents. We will be talking about our relations with the North Atlantic alliance. Each one of the three countries is interested in having closer relations with the North Atlantic alliance and in building in Europe a cooperative security—that is, security which assumes cooperation in the greatest number of areas.

Jeszenszky on Talks

LD0510192991 Budapest MTI in English 1827 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, October 5 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, who arrived in Poland to attend the Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian summit in Krakow, gave an interview to MTI's correspondent in Warsaw.

"There are no serious problems to be solved in the relation of the three countries, we should further develop our cooperation. What I expect from the current meeting is for us to give a joint answer to the issues that engage the attention of the world, mainly how fast the former communist countries can overcome the inherited problems following the collapse of communism, and what sort of answers they can give to serious tensions as, for instance, conflicts between the nations, the oppression of the minorities, and particularly the separation of the forcibly created federal organizations, which frequently takes place with the use of force.

"We should reach a common position in the matter of Yugoslavia, the matter of our security in the [words indistinct] important and most timely issue. It would also be expedient to create a common position also about the events taking place in other neighbouring countries, apart from Yugoslavia, as if we take a joint stand in these issues it will give emphasis to what we are saying," Jeszenszky said.

Customs Union, EC Ties Viewed

LD0510225491 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 5—Trilateral issues, the situation in Yugoslavia and security in Central Europe, prospects for association with European Communities and economic cooperation within the three countries dominated at plenary talks between Polish, Czechoslovak and Hungarian Government delegations which started Saturday in Krakow, southern Poland, under the chairmanship of the foreign ministers of the three countries.

The Polish side was represented by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Dariusz Ledworowski, Czechoslovakia—by their counterparts Jiri Dienstbier and Vladimir Dlouhy, and Hungary by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Bela Kadar.

Poland's President Lech Walesa arrived in Krakow Saturday night. Asked by newsmen to comment on the opinion voiced by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the need to spread NATO's protective umbrella over the East European countries, Walesa said he was of a similar opinion and would discuss it in Krakow.

Geza Jeszensky told newsmen that the foreign ministers exchanged Saturday views on the situation in Yugoslavia and "supported the initiatives of the European Communities aimed to put an end to the bloody warfare in Yugoslavia."

Hungarian foreign minister also expressed his country's satisfaction at the agreement reached in The Hague and the successfully negotiated decision to stop the offensive of the Federal Army in Croatia. "We are very happy about it, but ceasefire has been achieved several times already, and never lasted long," Jeszenszky noted.

The three ministers were unanimous that the EC efforts to put an end to the Yugoslav warfare create the best chances for the solution of the problem, Dienstbier told journalists.

Asked whether Yugoslavia may be recognized as a full-fledged member of the Hexagonale group (which includes Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy and Poland) Dienstbier said "Yugoslavia must first solve its internal problems."

The ministers for foreign economic relations discussed prospects for association of the three with the European Communities, and the participation of the three countries in the EC-financed programme of aid to the Soviet Union. The three countries count on EC's assistance in restructuring their industries so far exporting to the Soviet Union, Ledworowski told newsmen.

Asked about prospects for a customs union between the three countries Ledworowski said this will be possible only after their association with the EC. His Hungarian opposite number Bela Kadar voiced a similar view.

The Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Vladimir Dlouhy said the sides discussed the lowering of customs barriers and the introduction of other facilitations between the three countries, but contrary to Poland's striving, it will be impossible to liberalize the trilateral trade by the end of this year.

Havel Addresses Summit

LD0610190891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Address by CSFR President Vaclav Havel at a trilateral summit with Polish President Lech Walesa and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in Krakow on 6 October—recorded]

[Text] Dear Mr. President, dear premiers, ladies and gentlemen: A brief list of our cooperation so far proves that we have done many positive things over the last two years. First, through our initiatives and active attitude we have substantially contributed to dismantling the Warsaw Pact and CEMA—that is, the two means of Soviet hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe which prevented our countries from engaging in natural contacts and links with that part of the European Continent to which we have always belonged culturally. Second, we have shown an ability to cooperate and coordinate our policies in integrating the tested European organizations and integrations. Thanks to mutual solidarity, we will also be able to sign important and advantageous association agreements with the EC countries in a few weeks. Third, we have managed to get rid of the problems that were slowing down our bilateral relations, or we are dealing with them. Three important bilateral agreements between our countries are ready to be signed, two of which will be signed today. Democratic revolutions and political and economic (?changes) in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are accompanied by increased instability, crises, and potential conflicts. It needs to be appreciated that, in the moments of crisis, representatives of our countries on various levels were meeting, exchanging information, and consulting on their actions. Czechoslovakia is more and more alarmed by the latest situation in Yugoslavia, which poses a serious threat to peace and security in Europe. The latest reports show that the Army and the Serbian command are not under the control of constitutional bodies, and there is a serious danger that the ethnic conflict will turn into a general civil war. Since all the recent efforts by the EC and the CSCE did not lead to peace, it is necessary that international communities continue to press for the only possible solution: a genuine and effective cease-fire and its monitoring by international peace keeping forces. We consider any forceful border changes inadmissible. On the contrary, we consider securing the human rights of all citizens, including members of minorities, as essential.

Despite all the dramatic events in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, I am convinced that there is no immediate and direct threat to our countries. However, the unpredictability and, in particular, speed of the further development and risks linked with it—in particular, the strong revival of nationalism and possible chaos and civil disorders—compels us to be vigilant. Strengthening European security and confidence today certainly requires, above all, stabilizing the democratic situation at its very center. I am convinced that the shortest path toward this objective is close cooperation between our countries and the North Atlantic alliance, including its adequate institutionalization everywhere where it is shown to be possible. The purpose of this closer cooperation, which could assume forms of some kind of an association, will be to strengthen positive developments in European politics and to defend democracy and law and not to create new dividing lines and to draw a picture of an enemy. In this sense, we also welcome the latest initiatives of ministers Baker and Genscher at establishing a North Atlantic council for cooperation, which has our full support. Our drawing closer to the EC, including full membership in the not-too-distance future, is, of course, of fundamental importance for stabilizing the political and economic situation. I believe that the conclusion soon of the association agreements will lead to a broader opening of Western markets to our exports, a continual Western support for the stabilization and modernization of our economies, and, last but not least, the incorporation of our countries in the emerging system of European political cooperation. After the defeat of the USSR putsch, the plan of the so-called triangular cooperation—according to which our countries, too, would share in the West's humanitarian, economic, and technical assistance to the Soviet Union—has once again become topical to an even greater degree. However, the Western countries, with a high degree of integration, demand rightly that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe should cooperate mutually among themselves. It would be foolish to demand entry through one door while closing the other one behind. In this I see one of the two main tasks facing us. Parallel with the way in which the association agreements with the EC come into force, we, too, ought to liberalize our mutual trade. It would certainly not be a good thing if greater barriers were to prevent Czechoslovakia from trading with Poland and Hungary while they are in trade with the Community. Experts must carefully compare the customs tariffs of all three countries. The granting of the self-same advantages in trade among Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland as they exist in their trade with the EC countries should be the first step forward. The final objective is apparent: to introduce a free trade zone within the framework of the three and between them and the EC countries. The second important task arises from the knowledge that it is not only the governments and presidents but, above all, citizens themselves who can contribute most to removing barriers which continue to divide us. I am convinced that various forms of subregional cooperation and cross-border partnership—like cooperation among small and medium-size private businesses, cooperation in the field of banking, telecommunications, the power sector, and last, but not least, in culture and protecting the environment—will be the right contribution to our entry into Europe. I belive that our meeting today will contribute substantially toward ensuring that cooperation between Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia will be seen in the world as an enduring contribution toward building a new European order, as a path of partnership, which has its predecessors, for instance in the Benelux countries, and which will also have its successors. On behalf of our entire delegation, I would like to thank the Polish side for their hospitality and to invite all of you to the next summit meeting in Czechoslovakia. I am convinced that we will find in Czechoslovakia a castle equally as important as Visegrad and Wawel.

Further on Walesa Comments

LD0610200391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1500 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the end of the summit the presidents of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the Hungarian prime minister made speeches in which they stressed the need for further cooperation, as this alone can guarantee success (?in the attainment) of democracy, a law-governed state, and a market economy. The words of President Lech Walesa were very significant: He emphasized that the world is pleased at the victory of freedom in central and eastern Europe, but today enthusiasm has changed into cold calculation. The joy of the liberated nations is sometimes transformed into disappointment and desperation resulting from the living conditions in this part of Europe, he asserted. He added that we are (?aiming) toward one Europe and we want cooperation with the West and the East. We therefore must start from ourselves; this is where we must demonstrate our solidarity, our being open to each other and to Europe.

The Krakow summit, as a result of the final documents and the previously mentioned Krakow declaration (?addressed) to NATO, and the reports of economic and political working groups, augurs well for the future of contacts between the three countries in the solution of difficult political and economic problems. This is Andrzej Jelenski reporting from Krakow, where at the moment we are waiting for a news conference with the presidents and prime minister.

Leaders Critical of West

LD0610205991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] At today's Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian summit the three countries addressed rather sharp criticism about the West they have declared their intention to join. According to Walesa, the West has been escaping its responsibility and has been making little progress in participating in the economic transformation in central and eastern Europe. As a matter of fact, they were able to find money when it was a question of the battle against the communist system, the Polish president complained; and he reckoned that this was a shortsighted, not to say careless [konnyelmue] policy.

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall worked his criticism into a historical train of thought. In his opinion the free world has been waiting for the collapse of Soviet world power and communism for 74 years, and when it came about at last, it caught them by surprise, unprepared. Antall also reckons that it is of fundamental importance that the developed world provide help quickly and integrate our region into itself as soon as possible. Otherwise a social iron curtain will fall between the two parts of Europe. Yugoslavia provides a model for the destabilization of the region. It is not only a matter of the Balkans, but of the whole of Europe, too. According to Antall, here one should differentiate between the democratic forces and those interested in the maintenance of dictatorship.

It appears that the three countries want to join the activities of NATO jointly. President Havel, in particular, made a special point of it. It was at his suggestion that a passage from the foreign ministerial statement on this was included in the joint declaration. The basic atmosphere of the meeting, despite the negative international surroundings, was optimistic. The three countries jointly welcome the fact that they can at last become associate EC members and they hope that mutual economic relations will also rise from the present low level.

Declaration Issued

LD0610180691 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 6—The summit of the leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary ended in Cracow Sunday after the sides adopted a joint declaration in which they said that their principal aim is to fully join the European political, economic, legal and security system.

The declaration stated that to complete this aim the three countries strive for association with the European Communities, expansion of relations with the NATO, including their institutionalisation (NATO full membership) by an international agreement in line with the American-German proposal of October 2, 1991.

In the declaration, the three countries demanded ceasefire in Yugoslavia and its effective control. They considered the participation of the army in solving internal conflicts as inadmissible.

The signatories of the Krakow declaration supported the to-date efforts of the European Communities, the CSCE and the U.N. In solving the Yugoslav conflict and expressed their readiness to participate in actions for peace, including the sending of international peace forces to Yugoslavia.

The three countries emphasised that the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis must be based on the principles of national self- determination, respect for minority rights and inviolability of borders.

In the economic part of the declaration, the three countries stressed the significance of their association with the EC which would accelerate the transformation and restructuring of their economies and declared their will to complete trade liberalization agreements among themselves as soon as possible. Those agreements would provide a liberalization level comparable to the one to be agreed with the EC and EFTA [European Free Trade Association].

Besides the Krakow declaration, the countries adopted a statement of the foreign ministers on cooperation with

the NATO in which Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Jiri Dienstbier and Geza Jeszensky said that proposals made in the statement of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of October 2, 1991, fully correspond to their view on development of cooperation between the NATO and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

In their statement, the foreign ministers expressed hope that the American-German projects would be reflected in decisions of the forthcoming NATO summit in Rome.

At the Krakow summit, Poland also signed agreements on good neighbourhood, solidarity and cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary respectively.

Also, it was decided that the ministers for foreign economic relations of the three countries would meet in Warsaw in November to assess a progress in negotiations on economic issues.

Leaders Hold News Conference

LD0610212591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1818 GMT 6 Oct 91

[News conference by Polish President Lech Walesa, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, CSFR President Vaclav Havel, and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall with correspondents after talks in Krakow on 6 October; Havel speaks in Czech with superimposed Polish translation; Antall speaks in Hungarian with superimposed Polish translation; broadcast in progress—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Walesa]...We are putting ourselves at your disposal right away, and if you've got something for us, please go ahead. We are here for you, whatever it is you want, to tell you what you're interested in. Please go ahead.

[Correspondent] [Passage omitted including indistinct portions]

[Havel] If we understood the question well, we are being asked whether we intend to set up some sort of a permanent body, some sort of a supranational organization. This is not our intention. We are interested in becoming members of all-European bodies, perhaps regional bodies. We agreed to intensify our cooperation, consult on occasions various pressing issues on various levels, and develop coordination of our political actions, but we did not agree on forming some sort of permanent bodies or, even less so, some sort of joint bureaucracy. Our three countries still have enough of their own bureaucracy.

[Walesa] In brief, you can say the following: Unity in action, fewer artificial structures.

[Correspondent] Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk, RZECZPOSPOLITA: I would like to ask about the signing of the treaties between Poland and Czechoslovakia and Poland and Hungary. The press does not know the text of these treaties; however, we have been informed that the titles of both treaties are different. I would like to ask for an explanation.

[Skubiszewski] Yes, there is a certain difference between the titles of both treaties. In our treaty with Czechoslovakia, there is...[changes thought] It is formulated differently, but that difference in the title does not reflect a difference in the content. If we're talking about the word solidarity—actions by both sides helping each other—it appears both in the introduction to the treaty with Czechoslovakia and in the introduction to the treaty with Hungary—in other words, the difference in titles is of no importance here.

[Correspondent] Andrzej Jelenski, Radio Poland first program: A question to President Walesa. Can it be said after the meeting in Krakow that Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland have an opportunity to move toward Europe in solidarity? The second question: When can it be expected that the tripartite states will be integrated with NATO? Thank you.

[Walesa] All our actions aim at being unified on subjects which are of concern to us and which require solidarity. Everywhere else we would preserve our individuality. Contacts with NATO is a big issue. Here, we want to gain common security, but everyone is aware, of course, that NATO is going through organizational changes because there is a different political situation in Europe and in the world. We must debate a lot to be unified on this topic so that the security of our countries is assured.

[Correspondent] Martinek, Czechoslovak television: I have a question for President Havel. Mr. President, today you have spoken once again in favor of closer cooperation with the North Atlantic alliance in the form of a certain type of an association which should eventually result in direct membership. Did you have in mind a possible guarantee in a treaty and a direct defense or military cooperation should it be necessary?

[Havel] In my speech, I reacted to the same thing to which our joint declaration has reacted—that is, to the latest, recent intiative put forward by Secretary Baker and Minister Genscher, who have proposed a certain institutionalized form through which the new European democracies would be drawn closer to the North Atlantic alliance in the form of setting up a North Atlantic council of which our countries could eventually become members, through strengthening of the diplomatic representation in the seat of the North Atlantic alliance, and similar proposals. We believe that this is a good initiative. We believe that in the long term it would be very useful for us—and possibly for other countries—to establish closer contacts with the North Atlantic alliance, formalize it in a certain way, and eventually characterize it in a treaty. In my personal view, it would even be possible to contemplate in the long term and within the framework of joint consultations on the European security situation, a possibility of requesting an intervention of NATO's rapid deployment units also outside the area

of member countries. However, this is only my personal view about which we did not talk. In any case, we have agreed that we welcome this initiative and support it, and this is why we have included it in one sentence in our joint declaration.

[Correspondent] Jozef Vybor, Czechoslovak television: I have a joint question for President Havel and Prime Minister Antall, why hasn't a joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak treaty been signed here. Was the reason the demand put forward by the Hungarian side for an autonomy for the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia? Or was the Gabcikovo issue also involved?

[Havel] I will reply for myself. The treaty was not signed because, although the text is ready, it has not yet been approved on the Czechoslovak side by all governments. The Slovak Government will consider it and make its comments in the immediate future. Afterward, I envisage that the treaty will be ready for signing.

[Antall] [Words indistinct] there is no direct military threat in Europe on the part of the Soviets. Here, one must consider destabilizing elements, inter alia, with issues connected with the Yugoslav civil war.

[Correspondent] Krzysztof Leski, the DAILY TELEGRAPH: Please explain the form in which any documents you—the states of the triangle—would like to sign with NATO and when, because the mutual declaration speaks simply about international agreements. President Havel just said that it would take the form of a treaty, which is why I would like to ask you for an explanation, both formal as well as when it is going to happen.

[Skubiszewski] Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland have maintained various relations with NATO for some time. There is already a wealth of contacts and [word indistinct]. Our policy is very consistent in this respect, and it has been for a long time. These relations are deepening and being enriched. Today, we concluded that—and this is one of the fruits of our meeting in Krakow, but this is the fruit which was a result of our earlier consultations—this attitude to NATO should have a certain institutionalization. You mentioned here an international agreement: This is one of the possible forms, but it is not the only one. We will see how things will proceed in relation to our North Atlantic partners, individual members of this treaty. There are very diverse possibilities here. It is important that we constantly move forward within the scope of these contacts and the fields which they concern.

[Havel] I would like to add that a NATO summit meeting will be held in November, a meeting which will primarily determine the kind of political directives it will issue. There is talk about several various alternatives. All these alternatives would require certain changes in the statutes and the concept of the North Atlantic alliance. There is the alternative of associate membership or a certain [word indistinct] relationship. There are also the proposals put forward by Secretary Baker and Minister Genscher. The issue is open, and only the November NATO summit will give certain political directives. In their spirit, expert talks with specialists from our countries and specialists from NATO may begin later.

[Correspondent] [Name indistinct], RZECZPOSPOLITA: I would like to ask about Yugoslavia. As we know, the Krakow meeting has devoted a lot of attention to this. We would like to ask if the three countries have made any decisions concerning recognition of the independence of Croatia or Slovenia. What will this issue look like? Is it reflected in the documents?

[Antall] Thank you for an easy question, Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav question. This was discussed not just here, but yesterday I (?returned) after a meeting with President Bush. The topic of Yugoslavia is the issue of the present day Europe. Simply, this is the disgrace at the end of the 20th century. What is going on there [words indistinct] the last bastion of the communist type dictatorship, and all this spiced up with the sauce of nationalism. We support the EC stand and its initiative. We support the UN Security Council stand, and we will do everything for these organizations to take a more resolute stand on this matter. Here, we have exchanged our views and decided that we will continue to investigate the possibilities of what can be done by us, both for UN and European initiatives. We will continue to investigate this at the level of specialists and experts, possibly at the level of ministers. Of course, for Hungary, in particular, this is a big problem because over 35,000 refugees are currently in Hungary. These are refugees from Yugoslavia, and only 10 percent are Hungarians; the rest are Croatians. This is an issue of refugees and security. The world must be told that Yugoslavia could easily become a negative model if it appears helpless in light of the Yugoslav civil war. This would be a negative message for any big crisis. It is necessary to explain that [words indistinct] internal matters, but we can state resolutely that this is a matter for the whole of Europe, and it would be disadvantageous if some states decided to grant recognition. It is important for the EC and for as many other countries as possible to take a stand.

The great powers and the developed countries [word indistinct] the United States and, in my view, the Soviet Union—or else, Russia—is also interested in this, as after the putsch there are no [words indistinct] that there are such forces as will seek an occasion, seek opportunities to throw back the wheel of history. So, we have, together, firmed up the situation. The analysis is a joint one, and our stand is such that we must give more than needed. However, as for details, apart from this declaration we cannot, for the time being, say anything more, apart from the declaration.

[Correspondent] Radio Poland again: A Council of Europe observer attended the deliberations here, at Wawel Castle. I ask for a commentary. A question to Prime Minister Antall: Mr. Prime Minister, in the next two days you will pay an official visit to the Polish Republic. I request a brief presentation of the (?aim) of the visit.

[Antal'] Between Poland and [word indistinct] it is not necessary to repeat how close and friendly the ties are between Hungarians and Poland. Direct, personal [word indistinct] sympathies and obligations [word indistinct]. Hungary has always adopted the stand that Poland is cooperated with...[changes thought] We very strongly supported including Poland in the pentagonale, transforming the pentagonale into the hexagonale [words indistinct] we are interested both in international policy and in further cooperation, bilateral cooperation. I judge that on this short, official visit—which is not short because we are all very secretive, only we have the shortest amount of time, the shortest time for similar visits—we will evaluate cooperation, all questions of military security, and economic and political matters. At the start, our experts will continue to carry on talks, and through this visit, we wish to accent our obligation to Hungarian-Polish cooperation. Over and above that, we wish, here [words indistinct] we wish to discuss our concrete affairs associated with the signed agreement.

[Skubiszewski] Regarding the representative's invitation to the Krakow meeting, an eminent representative of the Council of Europe: That is an important international organization, grouping the majority of the European states with a very large experience in various fields. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are already Council of Europe members. Poland still has a different status there, although it cooperates with it and participates in its meetings. Poland will become a Council of Europe member in November, after Poland's parliamentary elections. (?Those) states are interested in cooperation with European organizations, with various European regional organizations. It is not to be ruled out that at further meetings representatives of other organizations will also be present. This is completely normal, such mutual consultations between regional groups.

[Correspondent] The DAILY TELEGRAPH again: Today, Presidents Walesa and Havel at Wawel Castle spoke with disappointment about the West's lack of preparedness with help for Eastern Europe and about the West avoiding responsibility for the economic changes here. However, there was nothing like that in the speech by Prime Minister Antall, and there aren't any remarks like that in the final declaration. I would like to ask you if you in any way differ in your opinions on this?

[Walesa] Perhaps I'll reply [word indistinct] because I emphasized that the most. However, I emphasized that because we don't have the possibilities to execute our pertinent aims or measures. It is the same with Europe and not only Europe. The problem is based on the fact that one cannot write down more when you can't execute less. We wrote into the texts mainly what was realistic or possible; however, (?the second package) of discussions, talks, and the long-term outline for programs and talks inovlves how to improve our effectiveness, both on the subject of Yugoslavia and on a subject which could be similar to Yugoslavia and also to many others. That is why it was so formulated by me, because I, as a practician, notice more the ineffectiveness of many measures. However, to improve that much talking and consulting must be done to find effectiveness.

[Correspondent] Grzegorz [name indistinct], ZYCIE WARSZAWY: I have a question for the three leaders: We know that economic cooperation is really the most important of the joint actions of our countries. During today's meeting, I know a lot was said about a duty free area. I would like to ask you what you think: When are we going to be like Benelux? When will that free flow of thoughts and ideas—and goods, cooperation, and technological ideas—become real, because that really depends on what kind of countries we're going to create? I would like to add that we had less than encouraging news on this subject from Czechoslovakia in Mr. Klaus's addresses.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen: I am very sorry, but I would like this to be the last question as Mr. President is in a hurry, and we all are running late. We are all sorry.

I would like to tell you this: It's not that it was in Krakow, but this was the best meeting of all the meetings we have held so far. Again, this is because every meeting enables greater understanding. I am horrified by the political unanimity on different issues, on the issue of Yugoslavia, on the issue of dangers, on the economic issue, as well as on the issue you raised. Our tragedy is that for the moment we must look for implementation power. The whole problem lies in political fine-tuning. We do not need to look for more possibilities. (?We must) look for possibilities in the technical implementation of the far-reaching understanding in almost all spheres of our triangle. This is encouraging, and this may please. However, at the same time we request that you suggest to us how we are to improve our effectiveness in implementation both in the economic as well as political spheres, even aid for Yugoslavia. We live in pluralism, we live in democracy, and you also have a duty to prompt us, politicians, on where to look for effectiveness of our actions, then those countries and what we have politically achieved will be well filled with content to the satisfaction of us all. Here, I would really like to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, until the meeting in Prague, where we will be continuing our meetings. Time is relentless, and life is brutal. I wish you all the best.

Baker's NATO Plan Welcomed

LD0510223591 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Krakow, October 5 (MTI)—The conference between the Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak foreign ministers lasted well into the evening hours on Saturday. Journalists were briefed on the results on the first working day of the summit by Balazs Laszlo. The Krakow statement, scheduled to be signed on Sunday, was prepared in separate ministerial working groups. In one working group, the three foreign minister worked out the statement's political part; the other group which included the ministers of external economies worked out the section dealing with economic cooperation.

According to the spokesman, the foreign ministers agreed to reply to the joint position of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, made public earlier in the week, in a joint statement. The foreign ministers of the three cooperating countries will welcome the Baker-Genscher initiative whereby NATO should institutionally involve the countries of Central-Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union into its conferences that concern the entire continent. During the day, the foreign ministers held detailed talks about the results of cooperation between the three countries to date and on further tasks. Discussions were also held about the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and the Yugoslav crisis. The foreign ministers decided to set up a working group to coordinate cultural and scientific cooperation between the three countries.

Ministers Welcome Euro-Atlantic Pact Idea

LD0610232191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Text] The foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary during the Krakow summit reacted to the proposal by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to create a Euro-Atlantic pact from Vladivostock to Vancouver. They were pleased to say that the ideas in the proposal fully corresponded to their ideas for further development of cooperation between the alliance and Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. Ministers will appreciate it very much if these proposals are reflected in the conclusions of the forthcoming summit of NATO in Rome and express their countries' readiness to begin as soon as possible negotiations on implementing these proposals in practice. They feel that the current diplomatic links formula needs to be expanded to create conditions for direct integration of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary into the alliance's activity.

Havel, Antall News Conference

AU0810144291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech, Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Statements by CSFR President Vaclav Havel and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at a news conference held in Krakow on 6 October following the summit meeting of senior political representatives from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—recorded]

[Text] [Czechoslovak Television correspondent, in Czech] Mr. President, today you again called for closer cooperation with NATO via a form of association that should result in direct membership. Did you have certain guarantees in mind for a treaty, shall we say, on military or defense cooperation at a time of need?

[Havel, in Czech] In my speech I responded to what we had already responded to in our joint declaration, that is, to the most recent initiative by Secretary Baker and Minister Genscher. They proposed a certain institutionalized form of association bringing the new European democracies closer to NATO by means of establishing a NATO council, which our countries would eventually become members of, and by increasing our diplomatic representation at NATO headquarters. They also made other similar suggestions. We think that this is a very good initiative and we think that it would be very useful for us and—as the case may be—for other countries to conclude closer ties with NATO, to formalize them in a specific manner and to give them a treaty character. In my personal opinion, it would even be possible to consider—within the framework of joint consultations—the security situation in Europe and the eventual possibility, based on a request, of intervention by NATO rapid deployment units beyond the member states' boundaries. However, this is only my personal view, a view we did not discuss. In any case, we agreed that we welcome this initiative and that we support it. Therefore, we wanted to include this in one sentence in our joint declaration.

[Czechoslovak Television correspondent, in Slovak] I have a question for both President Havel and Prime Minister Antall. It concerns the failure to sign the Czechoslovak-Hungarian treaty. Is the reason for this the Hungarian side's demand for autonomy for the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia or does it relate to Gabcikovo?

[Havel] Admittedly, the text is prepared, but it has not yet been approved on the Czechoslovak side by all the governments, that means by all three governments. The Slovak Government is to discuss it in the very near future and express its views on it; then, I assume, the treaty will be prepared for signing.

[Antall in Hungarian fading into Slovak translation] I can confirm that there are no obstacles to signing the treaty between our countries. A bilateral treaty is always signed in one of the two countries that drafts it. It seems that the Slovak Government wants to participate in the preparations for signing this treaty. The issue does not involve ethnic minorities or the water project. As far as cooperation with NATO and the EC is concerned, it does not just depend on us, it also depends—in particular—on NATO and the EC what kind of obligation they want to assume for the Central European region. [end recording]

Government, Party Leaders Discuss Yugoslavia

AU0710204291 Tirana ATA in English 1901 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—On October 7, the president of the Republic, Ramiz Alia, had a working meeting which was attended by Kastriot Islami, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly; Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers; representatives of parties sharing seats in the National Stability Government: from the Socialist Party, its chairman Fatos Nano; from the Democratic Party, its chairman Sali Berisha; from the Republican Party, Sabri Godo; from the Social Democratic Party, its chairman Skender Gjinushi; and from the Agrarian Party, its chairman Meno Gjoleka.

It was also attended by the minister of defence, Perikli Teta; the minister of public order, Bajram Yzeiri; the minister of justice, Shefqet Muci; the chairman of the National Information Service, Irakli Kocollari; and the deputy minister for foreign affairs, Ilir Bocka. As the ATA correspondent was told by the representative of President's Press and Information Office, they discussed the crisis in Yugoslavia and linked it with the developments in Kosovo. The Republic of Albania hails the initiatives of the European Community for peace and the endeavours for a peaceful solution of the ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia. They also said that the fighting between the Serbs and Croatians constitute a dangerous element and tendency is to cover other zones in the farther south and be turned into a genuine hotbed with consequences for the Balkans and Europe. Under these circumstances they laid the stress on the need for the armed forces of the republic to enhance their vigilance.

The participants in this meeting hailed the referendum held in Kosovo from September 26-30, 1991. They consider righteous and legitimate the proclamation of Kosovo an independent and sovereign republic, participant with equal rights as all the other peoples of Yugoslavia in determining its future. The government should adopt proper measures and activate our diplomacy to give publicity to the will of the Albanians of Kosovo for independence and self-determination expressed by means of referendum, and the sovereign and independent republics of Yugoslavia and different states should recognize it, the participants at the meeting said.

The meeting also discussed the internal political situation and estimated that all the political forces should support the government, back up and respect the judicial state, make efforts that the idea of national conciliation, under the motto "opponents but brothers" be transformed into a reality for the good of the country's development, of progress of democracy and all-sided political, economic and social reformation.

In the debate on the second item of this meeting, attending were also Kleanthi Koci, chairman of the Supreme Court; Attorney General Petrit Serjani; and the deputy chairman of the General Investigation office, Zamir Shtylla.

Army on Alert Along Border With SFRY

LD0710235791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2239 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Ohrid, Yugoslavia, Oct 7 [TANJUG]—The Albanian Army was today put on the alert over the crisis in Yugoslavia, Albanian television, monitored in the Yugoslav border town of Ohrid, reported this evening.

According to the report, the decision was taken at President Ramiz Alia's meeting today with the prime minister, the president of parliament, the ministers of defence, internal and foreign affairs and party leaders.

A statement released from the Presidential Cabinet said that it was concluded that the "war between Serbs and Croats can spread to the southern regions and cause tragic consequences in the Balkans and Europe."

Secretary of State Meets Swiss Economic Official

AU0710160891 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—During a working visit to Switzerland, the secretary of state for economy, Leontiev Cuci, met with the Swiss secretary of state for economy, Ambassador Silvio Arioli.

In this meeting, Leontiev Cuci informed the Swiss counterpart of the current democratic developments in Albania as well as of the difficulties the Albanian economy and society is faced with. Switzerland's being close to us at these moments is an encouragement for democracy in Albania.

On his part, the Ambassador Arioli said that the Swiss Government assesses the development and rate of the democratic processes in Albania and voiced Switzerland's readiness not only to support and help Albania cope with its difficulties but also help her with long term economic cooperation.

He said that the Swiss Government is accelerating the procedures to sign the agreement of defending the mutual investments, to grant Albania the status of the most favourable nation in trade and stimulate the Swiss investments in our country.

Silvio Arioli officially handed over to his Albanian counterpart the official communique of the Swiss Government on the humanitarian aid accorded to Albania recently.

Silvio Arioli and Leontiev Cuci exchanged views also on the grave situation in Yugoslavia as well as on the latest European developments.

Offshore Oil Exploration Agreements Signed

AU0710161791 Tirana ATA in English 1013 GMT 7 OCT 91

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—A series of agreements were signed between the Albanian and Italian governments recently. One of these agreements is that which envisages cooperation between ENI and the Ministry of Energy and Mining Resources for the uncovering and exploitation of the oil and gas in the coastal zones of Albania. Prior to this agreement another one has been reached with the Italian Agip firm for researches in the No. 2 block in the Adriatic Sea.

The first agreement for the research and extraction of the oil and gas in the sea has been signed in March this year between the General Department of Oil and Gas and the Firms "Deminex" (Germany) and "OeMV" (Austria). Researches will be made in the zone Durres-Shengjin included in the Block Adriatic 1. The level of investments is about 4 million dollars for the first year and the sum will keep increasing from year to year to some hundred million dollars. According to the agreement, expenditures for all operations to be carried out in the sea will be defrayed by the firms. The expenditure will be paid off with the production of the source itself, in case it is uncovered.

In July this year, the second agreement with the firm "Occidental Petroleum" was signed. This U.S. firm will start soon seismic workings in the Block Adriatic 3, which lies from Durres to Fier. Jerry Williams, vice president of the researches of this firm, proceeding from the first data, voiced optimism for the success of oil exploration. Besides, another agreement is signed with the powerful U.S. "Chevron" for Block 4; in the meantime studies have been completed and the contract with the Anglo-American "Hamilton" for Block 5 is ready.

Country Joins European Reconstruction Bank

AU0710205291 Paris AFP in English 2011 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] London, Oct 7 (AFP)—Albania Monday officially became the 42nd member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the bank announced here.

The bank helps former Communist-bloc countries introduce market economy reforms.

Albania will take out a 0.1 per cent participation in the bank, worth 10 million ECUs [European Currency Units] (12.3 million dollars).

Government Statement on Land Distribution

AU0810090391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Agriculture Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 7 October]

[Text] The distribution of land according to the law approved by the People's Assembly has been completed in 106 villages and is continuing in 1,070 others. The number of families that have received land has risen to 71,636, and 601,523 hectares have been distributed. The districts of Puke, Permet, Gramsh, Pogradec, Tepelene, Mirdite, Elbasan, Lushnje, and others, which have distributed 30-50 percent of the planned acreage, have worked fastest. The districts of Shkoder, Fier, Gjirokaster, and Tirana are furthest behind, and the percentage of land that they have distributed is still very low.

The slow rate of land distribution is caused by a failure to understand that the law does not recognize the right of former landowners, whoever they may be, to repossess their land. This does not exclude the possibility of peasant families being granted the same land that they owned earlier, as has been explained several times.

Decree No. 230 of the Council of Ministers dated 23 July 1991 explicitly states that the village land-distribution commissions have the right to grant land, where possible, as close as possible to people's houses. It can be granted wherever the commission may decide, but the boundaries of a family's former property may be preferred, on the condition that the family is not given more than its due on the basis of the size of the household.

Various citizens are appealing to the Agriculture Ministry for grants of land in villages where they used to live, in the amounts they acquired in the Agrarian Reform of 1946 or by inheritance. Under the law, persons not resident in the countryside or who were not members of cooperatives cannot receive land. It would be an injustice to our peasants to give to families that do not live in villages what little land we possess, which averages nationally 1.5 hectares per family and varies from 0.6 hectares in Puke District to 2.6 hectares in Kolonje District, or which in lowland areas such as Fier, Lushnje, and Lezhe amounts respectively to 2.0, 1.6, and 1.4 hectares per family. It would likewise be an injustice to further fragment it by giving less land or no land to those who live in the countryside and who have worked in the cooperatives.

Socialist Party's Social Program Outlined

AU0710114091 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Editorial: "The Socialist Party's Social Program—Prosperity for All the People"]

[Text] The Albanian Socialist Party [PSSh] openly proclaimed its program at its 10th Congress. The people have seen this program and increasingly recognize the alternative of the PSSh as a leading, active political force. In defending the theory of democratic socialism, it synthesizes the most progressive and farsighted political and ideological thinking, which is the most effective way of responding to the challenges of the times and ensuring a happier and more prosperous future for the masses of

the people. The PSSh's aim is to build a qualitatively new society in which human rights and freedoms, socialism and democracy, are harmonized.

The PSSh's repudiation of the theories and practices of the past is not simply a facade or a propaganda slogan, as some—in particular, the opposition—seek to portray it. On the contrary, it is something real, concrete, and as clear as daylight in the party's basic program, particularly in its core, which is the draft social program that is now under extensive discussion among the PSSh's members and supporters. This program's aims clearly show that the PSSh is the party of the common people and an ardent defender of the their fundamental interests and of equality and justice. It is aware that, the more the market economy develops, there will also arise, alongside major opportunities for enrichment and prosperity, dangers of stratification and the pains of undeserved differentiation at the expense of ordinary people. The PSSh's program is therefore seriously committed to protecting these people through the process of the transformation and democratization of the country's life.

The PSSh's social program is not only a condemnation of the past but the expression of an aspiration to build a new society in the future. In this sense, it relies heavily on progressive and up-to-date ideas and ideals. Through this program, the PSSh offers to the masses of the people its alternative of democratic socialism, which is the opposite of the totalitarian, Eastern, statist, and feudal socialism that totally failed in Eastern Europe and our country. Democratic socialism has recorded indisputable achievements in many European countries. It is based on the creation of a free and humane society of social justice, in which the place and the role of the individual are defined by his real contribution to society's progress.

In its social program, the PSSh conceives and considers our people not simply as production units but also as people with intellectual and spiritual demands. It aims to improve the living standards of the masses of the people. This implies not only a high level of daily demands for living standards, but also demands for education, culture, science, and art. Everything in this program affirms a total will and commitment to build a society involving the creation, operation, and continual refinement of the economic, institutional, and legal mechanisms that will guarantee for individuals a peaceful and secure life, equality, and the opportunity to affirm their own personalities through free private, collective, and social initiative.

The PSSh's conception of the future of Albanian society is not utopian. The society to which it aspires is a real alternative embodied in social and economic measures that socialist and social democratic parties in different countries of Europe, united in the Socialist International, have adopted or are implementing. The essence of implementing such an alternative is to strike an appropriate balance between economic efficiency and social security.

The PSSh is against vulgar egalitarianism but is, at the same time, against greed for maximum profits and the creation of marked polarizations in society. Its alternative corresponds best to the present and future interests of workers, peasants, small-scale property owners, and the intelligentsia. The society the PSSh seeks to build cannot be achieved overnight. A free society with social dignity and justice can be achieved only through incessant and multifarious reforms that must be carried out both by the state and by society itself. Aware that this will involve conflicts of interest between individuals and groups or between groups and certain social strata, which are a reflection of the advantages and drawbacks or "virtues and vices" of the market economy, the PSSh intends and will strive to solve the contradictions in our society above all through dialogue and mutual tolerance, which implies trust in the intentions of one's partner, his participation in decisionmaking, and control over the implementation of these decisions.

The PSSh's members and supporters will find their aspirations for a free, humane, and socially just society embodied in concrete and realistic objectives that will correspond to the most important demands of Albanian society today and in the future. The fundamental aim is to meet the Albanian people's objectives in accordance with advanced European standards.

Our people lie at the basis of the PPSh's social program. Genuine democracy is only a society of free people. The PSSh's conception of people's freedom includes all areas of life: politics, the economy, culture, education, art, science, and the life of the individual, on the basis of and guaranteed by the legal framework.

The PSSh will struggle to create a humane society based on social justice and human dignity. This concept is diametrically opposed to totalitarian socialist society and implies pluralism of interests and viewpoints, tolerance, cooperation, fraternal solidarity, and the harmonization of personal and private interests with those of society as a whole.

The most vital need of people is food. There can be no question of genuine democracy without meeting this need. The PSSh is aware of the difficult situation prevailing in this area and the need to solve it fast. It is therefore committed to striving with all its strength and by democratic means to ensure that production work in the country will have the primary aim of meeting the people's needs for food, according to the most advanced principles, and that the state, through reforms and by encouraging economic interests, will give the proper priority to light industry and the food industry through a policy of subsidies, export-import policy, and so forth.

There can be no genuine prosperity for everybody without employing people in the towns and the countryside. The PSSh, considering this to be an exceptionally great and difficult problem connected both with the present situation and the consequences of a transition to a market economy, will ask the state organs to provide

economic encouragement for Albanians and foreigners to create new jobs, to train and retrain young people, to make use of all opportunities for employment abroad according to international regulations, and to offer social support to the unemployed. In their program, the Socialists commit themselves to introducing the seven-hour working day soon, gradually introducing a five-day working week, and improving working conditions and hours in the direction of European standards.

The PSSh realizes the urgency of the problem of housing the people. It will therefore strive in all possible ways to ameliorate and gradually solve this vital problem by encouraging free initiative and the granting of building loans to citizens.

Humanism and social justice in all spheres of life pervades the PSSh's social program, as is evident with special clarity in the party's aim to strive for equal health services for everybody, for democratic and secular mass education, the development and strengthening of the Albanian family, and the growth and protection by all legal means of the personality of women in the family and in social and economic life. The PSSh favors a realistic assessment of the conflict between the generations, the recognition and fulfillment of the demands and aspirations of young people, who are the country's future, and a guarantee of proper respect and consideration for veterans of the war of the Albanian people on the part of the state and society.

The PSSh's social program is wide-ranging, detailed, and specific. It cannot be confined solely to what has been said. Our aim is to set forth this program's deeply democratic and humanist core. It is now in the hands of the PSSh's Managing Committee. Members of the Presidium of the PSSh's Managing Committee, intellectuals, and the party's propagandists have explained this program in different districts of the country. It is nevertheless inconceivable that all the masses of the people can have grasped and absorbed it, or that they are able to make a profound judgment about what this program aims at for them. At the same time, they are asked to express their opinion freely about this program so that it will embrace the highest interests of the unprivileged strata of our country. If it is skillfully presented by PPSh members and supporters, it will be brought closer to the masses and will become a long term program of action. The approval of this draft program at a forthcoming PPSh national aktiv will be a new affirmation of the PSSh's great mission in the service of the people and democracy. Thus, people of all kinds, in the towns and in the countryside, will be able to see in this program the truth and the embodiment of their interests, both in the process of the transition to a market economy and in the future society we will build. The truth has its own clear voice about everything. This is certain in the case of our well-wishers, but even those who do not like the PSSh will not be able to avoid this truth and must confront it. That is why they do not fight against the PSSh's program but against "Laborites," "cryptocommunists," and so forth, and so forth, with whom the PSSh has nothing in common.

In any case, the PSSh has declared and proved that it favors an honest and pluralist political struggle, dialogue, and tolerance. It confines itself to this also when it judges programs. However, the people are the greatest judge. Let them judge, and they will. Let them choose, and they will choose the alternative that guarantees them a more prosperous life. The PSSh is convinced that, in its efforts for the country's development and progress, it has and will have the support of its sympathizers—the workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals whom it realistically appreciates as the decisive factor for the fate of this program.

1-Day Official Visit of Greek Prime Minister

Mitsotakis Greeted at Airport

AU0710142491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by Martin Minkov]

[Text] Our colleague Martin Minkov reports from the Boyana residence:

[Minkov] A short while ago, talks began between Dimitur Popov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Konstandinos Mitsotakis, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, who is paying a one-day official visit to Bulgaria.

At precisely 1430, the Greek Government leader was greeted at Sofia airport with military honors.

Just before the official talks began here at the Boyana residence, especially for the listeners of the Khorizont Radio Network, Mr. Dimitur Popov pointed out that the bilateral treaty that will be signed today is ready. It must be seen as the result of considerable and important work. I hope that this is the beginning of a series of treaties between Bulgaria and Greece that will give Bulgaria a new political status in the region and in Europe, Mr. Popov said.

According to the preliminary program, the two government leaders, Dimitur Popov and Konstandinos Mitsotakis, are to sign the Bulgarian-Greek Treaty on Good-Neighbor Relations, Friendship, and Cooperation at 1630, after which it is expected the Bulgarian president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, will receive Mr. Mitsotakis.

2 Prime Ministers Sign Treaty

AU0710181391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by Martin Minkov]

[Text] [Announcer] At the beginning of our newscast, let us hear what our reporter Martin Minkov has to report from the Boyana Residence:

[Minkov recording] The Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighborly Relations, Cooperation, and Security between the Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece is a fact. It was signed in Sofia this afternoon by the two countries' prime ministers, Dimitur Popov and Konstandinos Mitsotakis, with the Bulgarian Cabinet members and the officials accompanying Mr. Mitsotakis in attendance.

In celebrating the importance of the event for the bilateral relations of the two countries and for the Balkans as a whole, Mr. Popov described it as a good deed. According to Mr. Mitsotakis, the two countries are entering a new period in their relations, along a common path from which they will not deviate.

The treaty was drafted in the spirit of the traditionally good Bulgarian-Greek relations, in the spirit of the democratic changes in the contemporary world, and is in full conformity with the criteria of mutual relations in the spirit of a new Europe.

The treaty contains a broad spectrum of comprehensive, friendly relations in the spirit of good-neighborliness and cooperation, the security aspect included, based on the principles of mutual confidence, without being directed against any other country whatsoever. This fact was especially emphasized.

After the signing of the document, Mr. Mitsotakis, accompanied by Dimitur Popov, was received by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic.

The treaty is a great success not only for our two countries but also for the Balkans as a whole at a moment when rather dramatic events are taking place in the area, Dr. Zhelev said.

In pointing out the fact that the treaty is not directed against any third party, the president expressed his conviction that both countries, Bulgaria and Greece, are conducting a European policy.

The treaty reflects the spirit of our epoch, Mr. Mitsotakis said. While contributing to peace and understanding between our two countries, it sets a positive example for all.

President Zhelev's talks with the Greek prime minister continued behind closed doors.

Sofia-Athens Hot Line Installed

AU0810081891 Sofia BTA in English 2046 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—The governments of Bulgaria and Greece will have a direct communication link to coordinate actions in an emergency, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov announced at a joint news conference with his Greek counterpart Konstandinos Mitsotakis. They described the bilateral treaty they signed today as important for the two countries and the Balkans.

According to Mr. Popov, the treaty is a platform for specific action to promote cooperation in all areas of bilateral relations, including the military field. The treaty is not directed against the interests of third countries, on the contrary, it can serve as an example for the other Balkan countries, it was stressed at the news conference.

The two prime ministers expressed concern over developments in Yugoslavia and confirmed the initiative to go ahead with the postponed Balkan meeting in support of the efforts for a political settlement of Yugoslavia's problems.

Differences remain in the two countries' positions on Yugoslavia. The two prime ministers did not discuss

problems affecting the interests of Yugoslavia and the individual republics, Mr. Popov said. Asked whether Bulgaria still remains committed to a recognition of the independence of Macedonia, Mr. Popov said that Sofia's repeatedly declared stand on the issue remains unchanged. He stressed that the peoples living in Yugoslavia have the sovereign right to determine their and the country's future and expressed the hope that reason and political dialogue will finally triumph over armed violence in Yugoslavia.

For his part, Mr. Mitsotakis said that the two countries support Yugoslavia's unity, even as a "loose confederation," a statement which was not confirmed categorically by Mr. Popov.

Asked by BTA whether they had discussed the situation in the Balkans and whether Bulgaria and Greece have problems similar to those of other Balkan countries, the two prime ministers reiterated that they had not discussed questions affecting the interests of third countries. They added they had familiarized each other with Sofia's and Ankara's proposals to Ankara on the signing of similar accords between Bulgaria and Turkey and between Greece and Turkey.

Mr. Popov and Mr. Mitsotakis reaffirmed their proposal on the withdrawal of offensive weapons from the contact border areas of Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey in Western Thrace. They called on the Turkish government to reconsider its negative view on this initiative which Ankara recently rejected.

Asked by a Greek journalist whether the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant poses a threat to Greece and whether it will be shut down, Mr. Popov stated that the Bulgarian people and its government feel deep concern and responsibility over all problems of nuclear safety. Bulgaria's prime minister spoke about Bulgaria's action aimed to enhance the safety of the plant's reactors and systems.

Athens Report of Treaty Signing

NC0810061991 Athens ERA Tessera Radio Network in Greek 1900 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The signing in Sofia of a treaty for friendship, good-neighborliness, cooperation, and security between Greece and Bulgaria has opened new horizons for relations between the two countries. Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis and Bulgarian Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov signed the treaty at 1630 today at the presidential residence outside Sofia.

With this treaty, the two countries have agreed upon their territorial integrity, the inviolability of the Greek and Bulgarian borders, the defensive character of the Armed Forces, and cooperation in the military field. The two have pledged to expand their cooperation in the economic, industrial, banking, technological, and ecological sectors as well as in the fields of water conservation, energy, telecommunications, information exchange on nuclear installations, and the protection of the environment and rivers.

Through the treaty, Greece has reaffirmed its support for Bulgaria's incorporation in the European Communities. Further cooperation between the two countries is envisaged in the fields of education, scientific research, fine arts, theater, music, and athletics. The treaty particularly highlights the role of the Orthodox Church in the historical and spiritual development of the two nations. At the same time, the two governments will contribute toward expanding the contacts and cooperation between the two churches at the international level.

The 20-year treaty also provides for bilateral cooperation in the struggle against organized crime, illegal drug trafficking and weapons trafficking, smuggling, international terrorism, and the illegal export of works of art. It should be noted that this is the first treaty Bulgaria has signed with a Balkan country. Bulgaria is currently preparing to sign similar treaties with Germany, Italy, Romania, and Turkey.

Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis arrived in Sofia at 1500 today and was met at the airport by Dimitur Popov. At 1700 today, Mitsotakis met with Bulgarian State Council Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev.

The two prime ministers gave a joint news conference immediately following the signing of the treaty, and they said that a direct telephone line has been put into operation as of today between the two prime ministers' offices so that emergencies in the region can be jointly faced. At the news conference, Popov praised the Istanbul patriarchate's role in the Balkans' current critical situation and added that the Bulgarian Government has taken into account the Orthodox Church's substantial influence over the Bulgarian people. He announced that, for this reason, the government will send a high-level government delegation led by the deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers to attend the patriarch's funeral tomorrow. Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis said that the process for choosing a successor to the patriarch is well known and will be respected and implemented.

The two prime ministers made particular reference to the defense aspects of the treaty, which virtually constitute a nonaggression pact. The two prime ministers also noted they also exchanged views on the situation in Yugoslavia and reaffirmed that the common position of the two countries is to support their neighboring country's unity. They also reaffirmed their support for the proposal Greece made last June, which provided for the withdrawal of offensive weapons from the joint Greek-Bulgarian-Turkish borders. In response to a question on the Athens quadripartite conference, the Greek prime minister said that it had been agreed to postpone but not cancel it.

Mitsotakis will return to Athens late tonight so that he can visit Istanbul tomorrow to attend the funeral of Ecumenical Patriarch Dhimitrios.

Minister Vulkov's Statement to UN on Yugoslavia

AU0810093891 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

["Statement" by Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs, on the situation in Yugoslavia, disseminated as an official document by the UN Security Council in New York on 30 September 1991: "Bulgaria Is Seriously Concerned About the State of Affairs in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] New York, 30 September—The visit of Viktor Vulkov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, to New York continues. In connection with the discussion of the situation in Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council disseminated the statement from Bulgaria's diplomatic leader as an official document. The statement reads as follows:

Bulgaria is seriously concerned about the deteriorating situation in Yugoslavia. The dramatic events in our western neighboring country, involving the loss of human lives, justifiably evoke my government's serious concern and also the concern of the entire Bulgarian people. Our approach to the development of events in Yugoslavia, from their very beginning, was expressed on several occasions in an official statement made by Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, in the National Assembly, in official government declarations, and in Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Ministry statements.

The current processes in Yugoslavia, which have gotten out of control and are accompanied by the disintegration of the federal structures of power, the escalation of armed combat, and the establishment of armed groups on a religious, ethnic, political, and interethnic basis, represent a real danger of total civil war. Such a development would have extremely serious consequences. We are perfectly aware of the connection between the escalation of the crisis and attempts to forcibly change the interrepublican borders in Yugoslavia. Our concern is even more aggravated by the possibility of interethnic armed clashes being transferred to the border areas and even to the territories of the neighboring states, and by the possibility of an extensive exodus of refugees. The aforementioned facts are already exerting a destabilizing effect upon international peace and security on a regional scale and are likely to expand to an even larger scale in the long run. We are justifiably concerned about possible unfavorable trends for the democratic process and the extensive reforms in my country. For precisely this reason, we are supporting Resolution No. 713, adopted by the Security Council on 25 September 1991, as a necessary and timely measure. We expect the world organization to adopt urgent and effective measures in accordance with the revived confidence in its capacity to act as a peacemaking factor. The Yugoslav crisis should be resolved for the benefit of a peaceful future for all peoples in Yugoslavia, for its neighbors, and for the entire Balkan Peninsula.

Unfortunately, we were forced to admit that the hopes for an internal Yugoslavia have not been justified. It is impossible to find generally acceptable solutions likely to preserve Yugoslavia as a state under its present form. The armed clashes in Slovenia, followed by the combat in Croatia, have evoked serious doubts whether the Yugoslav People's Army is objective and represents the whole nation. This is the crude reality. The main question today is whether the current processes in Yugoslavia, related to the implementation of the people's sovereign right of self-determination and to their separation as independent states, will develop in a democratic manner through interrepublican dialogue based on equal rights, or whether this process will involve violence and military pressure, as the current situation indicates.

In this alarming situation, Bulgaria actively contributed to putting into operation the relevant mechanisms of the CSCE and wholeheartedly supported the efforts of the European Community for a peaceful solution of the crisis. As a result of the measures adopted by the Community, the Bulgarian Government imposed an embargo on the reexport and transit of military technical equipment, ammunition, weapons, and all technical devices for military purposes to Yugoslavia. We welcomed the cease-fire agreement with hope, and we are convinced that its observance and the renunciation at the policy of accomplished facts may prevent the further escalation of combat actions and the involvement of other republics in the conflict. We hope that the strict implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 713 by all interested sides in Yugoslavia will contribute to the creation and consolidation of political goodwill for the peaceful settlement of the crisis. As long as all sides in Yugoslavia have not realized the necessity of such goodwill, the efforts of the international community will be useless.

The basic principles of our policy regarding the crisis in Yugoslavia were set forth by President Zhelev in his declaration issued on 14 September 1991 and are based totally on the instructions of the UN Charter.

We consider it exceptionally important that the right to self-determination of all peoples inhabiting the territory of Yugoslavia, without exception, should be recognized. This should include the step of establishing an independent state. The implementation of this principle should be accomplished by democratic, peaceful means, on the basis of political compromise, without a forcible reshaping of borders. The latter is absolutely inadmissible.

Bulgaria has never tried and will never try to take advantage of Yugoslavia's current difficulties and will strictly observe this obligation. Being fully aware of the requirement to observe the atmosphere of mutual trust and good-neighborly relations in the Balkans, we strictly

adhere to the principle of noninterference into Yugoslavia's domestic affairs. Naturally, this should be a norm of behavior in our relations with our neighboring countries that should apply to everyone. We are trying to show an optimal degree of restraint in this moment of tension and unpredictable events. There is even more: Regardless of the highly tense situation in our neighboring country, Bulgaria has so far refrained from increasing its armed forces along our common borders. We most categorically reject the accusations about Bulgarian partiality regarding the events in Yugoslavia that were addressed against our country by certain political circles in Belgrade. These insinuations are in full contradiction with the real facts and with Bulgaria's position of principle, adopted from the very beginning of the crisis in Yugoslavia. It is a well-known fact that such methods are exclusively aimed at diverting attention from the essence of the problem.

In accordance with these basic principles, my country once more declares its readiness to contribute actively to any initiative of the world organization on a worldwide or regional basis for finding a peaceful, political solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia on the basis of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Paris Charter on New Europe. It is our sincere wish to develop relations of friendship, good-neighborliness, and intensive cooperation with all nations inhabiting the territory of Yugoslavia, irrespective of the manner in which they implement their right of self-determination.

Vulkov Returns From New York

AU0810085391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Tonight Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov returned from New York, where he attended the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly.

The speech that Mr. Vulkov delivered at the session mapped out the basic trends of Bulgaria's foreign policy. The Bulgarian foreign minister's statement on the situation in Yugoslavia was disseminated at the United Nations as an official document of the UN Security Council.

Agreements on Assistance for Kozloduy Plant Signed

AU0710180591 Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—At the end of their talks in Paris, the Paris Center of the World Association of Nuclear Operators (WANO) and the Bulgarian Power Engineering Committee have signed five agreements on the utilization of the ECU [European Currency Unit] 11.5 million granted by the European Community to Bulgaria to enhance the safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

ECU 5 million will be allocated for research services. WANO's six-month programme includes ten subjects related to the plant's nuclear safety. ECU 3 million have been allocated for maintenance and the operators' training up to European standards. ECU 1.5 million will be spent on the training of the entire personnel.

An agreement has been signed with the Euroelectric International Consortium. By the end of October, experts of the top five European power generation companies will work out a report on the needs of Bulgaria's power engineering and the problems arising from the shutdown of generating units one and two.

Kozloduy Construction Workers Threaten Strike

AU0810134091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Veselin Angelov]

[Text] The Ministry of Environment Protection is expected to announce the results of the work with the Government Commission on the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, but, as our correspondent Veselin Angelov reports, the construction organizations engaged at the Kozloduy building project are threatening to strike. They intend to begin their strike following the elections, if no agreement is reached, of course.

[Angelov recording] In a statement, the united Strike Committee points out that a distorted practice emerged in 1991, which is still in effect and according to which the construction companies are granted their credits by the Economic Bank, while the interest rates are paid by the ATOMENERGOINVEST Company.

In June 1991, with several months' delay, construction work done in the February-May 1991 period was partially paid for, but, following this, the construction and assembly work for the June-September 1991 period has not been paid for at all. The wages would amount to nearly 60 million leva.

In the meantime, the disappointed workers learned that a telex from the Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Development had arrived, advising the management to look for jobs all over the country for the Kozloduy construction workers.

This is how the discontent exploded, and it may develop into an effective strike as of 15 October unless the demands of the trade unions are satisfied—namely, that wages for the work done should be paid for and that funds for the period until the end of 1991 should be provided, while the situation in 1992 should be clarified on a long-term basis. If these conditions are not fulfilled, work in the machine hall of the Kozloduy Sixth Reactor will stop. The same applies to the professional-training center of the plant, and the pace of the repair works would be disrupted, while the construction of housing units and the installation of the heating system in Kozloduy would also be interrupted.

Constitutional Court of Justice Elects Chairman

AU0710172391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Asen Dimitrov Manov today was elected chairman of the Bulgarian Constitutional Court of Justice. He obtained eight of the 12 votes of the court's members.

SDS Delegation's Bonn Visit Reported

AU0810101591 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bonn, October 7 (BTA)—A delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) led by Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, is visiting Bonn at the invitation of the leadership of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU].

The political situation in Bulgaria in the run-up to the elections and cooperation between the Christian Democratic Union and the SDS were high on the agenda at a meeting with the hosts today.

At a news conference at the Bulgarian Embassy in Bonn, Mr. Dimitrov outlined the complexion of the SDS and made predictions about the elections. According to him, the Communist (now Socialist) Party will obviously relinquish power in the forthcoming elections, while Bulgaria's future leadership will be dominated by the SDS. Answering a question, he said that the SDS will not coalesce with the Communists.

Mr. Dimitrov said that the delegation's visit to Germany has been prompted by a desire to strengthen cooperation between the two countries, between the SDS and the CDU/CSU [Christian Social Union] ruling coalition.

Asked by Radio Deutsche Welle about future cooperation with the incumbent ministers of the SDS, Mr. Dimitrov expressed his conviction that Finance Minister Ivan Kostov can be sure of his portfolio in the new government. He also said that the SDS and the leaders which left it do maintain a rather firm tone in pre-election debates but he would cooperate with all these people in the future and they may be included in the future government.

New Conservative Party Introduces Itself

AU0810130191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Our reporter Elena Shtereva attended the first news conference of the Democratic Party-Conservative Accord [Demokraticheskata Partiya-Konservativen Sgovor]. The party introduced its candidates included in the electoral list of the Union of Democratic Forces-Liberals [SDS-Liberals] Coalition.

Stefan Stoyanov, chairman of the party, described the special features of the Democratic Party-Conservative Accord and pointed out that the party members are recruited by recommendation [poruchitelstvo] as is the custom with some West European parties. In addition, former members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] or people who have applied for BCP membership are not accepted.

Such measures are required because communism is expanding to a frightening extent among the opposition, Stefan Stoyanov said. According to him, many former BCP members who are members of the opposition today are incapable of parting with the Marxist-Leninist theory about revolution.

It is very easy to present positive platforms today, Mr. Stefan Stoyanov stated at the news conference. He added: Such people are boasting with their behavior of the last two years, thinking that this is an advantage for them.

In connection with an article recently published in the daily DEMOKRATSIYA, Mr. Stoyanov announced that he has filed a legal complaint against Stefan Savov, chairman of the Democratic Party, because Mr. Savov accused him of being a former Komsomol secretary.

FRG President Addresses Federal Assembly

LD0810084391 Hamburg DPA in German 0716 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker has called for reconciliation between Germans and Czechoslovaks. On the second day of his State visit to the CSFR, Weizsaecker, in an address given today to the Prague Federal Assembly, he said that the serious wounds in relations between the two countries had not yet fully healed. The present is full of problems, the future full of great tasks. Nonetheless, the past could not be ignored. To remember accurately is often painful. "However, matters can be resolved with oneself and with one's neighbor, only if one adheres to the truth. He who is strong enough to face the truth is smoothing the path toward reconciliation, and thus uncovering our strength for future cooperation."

Weizsaecker said the Germans and Czechoslovaks are neighbors in the center of Europe, linked by the longest common border. "We want to use it to heal sorrow, to overcome mistrust, to mutually enrich ourselves through encounters and cooperation." Dedicated work toward that end is being done in various ways in both countries.

The federal president also referred to the expellees and said that the attachment of the Germans to their former homeland, from which they or their ancestors had been expelled, is even today causing concern for many Czechs and Slovaks. "But I am convinced that these Germans, in particular, can and will make a crucial contribution toward the development of good and close neighborliness." Issues still open, or problems outstanding, could be resolved more easily as part of a comprehensive European approach. What matters today is that the preparedness and the good will of the neighbors is not jeopardized through excessive demands. "Mutual understanding of the fears of the partner will have to be, and can be, learned."

Weizsaecker expressed his thanks that Czechoslovakia is among those European countries that had unreservedly supported the process of German unification right from the start. With its struggle for freedom and reforms, the country had, at the same time, smoothed the path toward the full inclusion in a common Europe. The next step is to gradually adjust living standards. What the Germans are learning daily in the process of unification applies also to Europe: "We will overcome division only when we have learned to share."

The federal president also mentioned indirectly the conflicts between Czechs and Slovaks, and said that each people has a fundamental claim to freedom and self-determination. Conflicts between nationalities and minorities did indeed have a long and sorrowful history. Europe should learn to gather its strength and not to split up anew.

Before his address to the Assembly, Weizsaecker met for a conversation with the Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. This morning he laid a wreath at the grave of a German soldier on the outskirts of Prague.

Dientsbier Outlines Contents of Soviet Treaty

AU0710154791 Prague CSTK in English 1616 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier announced the bilateral treaty on neighborly, friendly relations and cooperation initialed here today by Dienstbier and his Soviet counterpart, Boris Pankin, as one of the treaties of "the new Europe."

The treaty's preamble says the two countries wish to put a definitive end to the past connected with the August 1968 Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, and reaffirms the declarations made by both countries' leaders after November 1989, in which they condemned the action.

Replacing the May 6, 1970, Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the then Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union, the new document must be ratified by both countries' parliaments. It will take effect on the day the ratification papers are exchanged.

Notable in the body of the treaty is that the new pact does not infringe upon the rights and responsibilities of the republics of the Soviet Union, deriving from their declarations of sovereignty and legislative acts on independence.

The text says the treaty is not directed against any third party and does not infringe upon either country's rights and obligations deriving from valid bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements concluded with other states.

In the preamble, both parties state their firm determination to contribute in accordance with the Paris Charter of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace, security, democracy, and prosperity.

The body states that both sides are bound to respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability of borders. It declares that neither country has any territorial claims on the other and will not make any in the future.

The strengthening of the CSCE security structures and environmental cooperation are stressed as high priorities.

Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union also agree to cooperate in the suppression of crime, especially terrorism, hijacking, illegal trade in narcotics, and illegal transport of objects of cultural and historical value across international borders.

The treaty also provides for the care of military graves and memorials and the maintenance of burial grounds in which citizens of the other country are laid to rest.

The 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia constituted interference in the country's internal affairs, declared Pankin. He said he is convinced that period is gone forever and that the countries will be good neighbors from now on.

The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet approved the initialing of the treaty at its session today.

Dienstbier, Genscher Initial Treaty

LD0710135991 Hamburg DPA in German 1141 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—At the start of Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker's five-day state visit to the CSFR, the German-Czechoslovak agreement on good neighborliness was launched in Prague today. In the presence of von Weizsaecker and CSFR President Vaclav Havel, the two countries' foreign ministers, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Jiri Dienstbier, initialled the agreement, which is to clear the way for close cooperation between the two states. [passage omitted]

After initialling the agreement, Genscher said the agreement is "an important new element of a better Europe; it is looking to the future." It gained "special importance by this historic site." Weizsaecker also praised the agreement as an honest treaty. Both sides made to each other "promises they can keep and did not conceal what remains open." The agreement is based on the new spirit of freedom and democracy that now dominates the two countries, Weizsaecker added.

Havel on Republic, NATO Security Issues

AU0710134191 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 7 Oct 91 p 3

[Karl-Peter Schwarz report: "Not Afraid of Democracy"]

[Text] Prague—"We want to have democracy; thus, we must not be afraid of it now." Vaclav Havel's confidence in the strength of democracy is unshakable and, therefore, he assesses the CSFR's chances for settling the domestic conflict between Czechs and Slovaks in a decidedly optimistic way, despite the seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

In an interview with DIE PRESSE in Prague's Hradcany Castle, the president explained the necessity of holding a referendum on the future of the joint state by the end of this year. In his view, there are certainly realistic chances that his proposal will be accepted.

"We must hold a referendum as quickly as possible, because it is the only constitutional method. If we are not able to do this, we will have a far more terrible alternative than having to choose between a joint state and two separate states. Then we will have chaos, a situation in which two different legal norms are valid, and this is absolutely unacceptable. This is why I have personally exerted so much pressure for holding the referendum this year."

In a speech in the Federal Assembly on 24 September, the president proposed to let the voters in the two republics decide on whether they support keeping the joint state on a federative basis or whether they support two independent states. A third possibility, namely the establishment of a confederation, was ruled out by Havel. Why?

"A Confederation Would Only Be Camouflage"

"You know, a confederation is a structure of two independent states that want to cooperate closely. But we are a federation. Now we are facing the need to find an answer to the question of whether we want to stay in the joint state or to divide it into two sovereign states. Of course, sovereign states may cooperate closely, but this is another question. I also believe that the Czech public would not approve such a transition to a confederation. In their minds, there is the idea that a confederation would only be camouflage for establishing an independent Slovak state, by delaying the separation, making it more expensive, and shifting the costs."

President Havel considers a referendum useful, even under the condition that the negotiations between the Czech and the Slovak Republics on a domestic treaty be successful in the end: "The referendum could then confirm this treaty, and thus open the door to three new constitutions: a Czech, a Slovak, and a federal one. In my view, this would be the best solution. However, I do not rule out that we might come to an agreement in a way that will make the referendum superfluous."

Since this summer there has been a constitutional law on holding a referendum in the CSFR, but the implementation regulations are still missing, as is a law on the distribution of the federation's property, if it is dissolved. Finally, the formulation of the question that is to be decided upon is disputed. Corresponding motions for laws have been presented to the National Councils of the republics, which have to decide on them by mid-October. Then they will be discussed and voted on in the Federal Assembly. If they are accepted by the end of October, the referendum can be held in December. However, even the president cannot say whether this will happen. Will he resign if his proposal is not accepted?

"There has been a misunderstanding in this respect. I did not say that I would resign if the referendum is not held. I only said that all political representatives, including myself, must take appropriate steps, if it is not possible to settle these problems by constitutional means. Because, then, this country would be ungovernable."

President Havel is convinced that the desire for a joint state is considerably stronger in Slovakia than it seems. "One must make distinctions. I think that the vocal forces that gather in the various squares and demonstrate

for an independent state represent only part of the population, while the large, silent majority is for the joint state. However, this majority is split, and this is the problem. I meet with these people frequently, when I go to Slovakia. There, too, they have an initiative for the joint state. It has gathered many thousands of signatures and unites the best forces of the Slovak intelligentsia."

According to a quite recent opinion poll, however, the "Movement for a Democratic Slovakia" (HZDS), which advocates the republic's sovereignty, is by far the strongest force.

"I think that the popularity of the HZDS is due mainly to the personality of the politician Meciar. Meciar is a robust, strong man, who is very quick-witted and knows the answer to every question. Such a politician is well-liked in Slovakia."

NATO as the "Only Pillar of Security in Europe"

Vaclav Havel is convinced that the domestic conflict will not delay the process of the CSFR's integration in a united, free Europe. He assumes that the German-CSFR basic treaty, which accelerates the country's association to the EC, will soon be ratified by the Federal Assembly, despite criticism by the Slovak government. In addition, the CSFR is striving to intensify its relations with NATO, which the president calls the "only pillar of security" that exists in Europe.

Even though Havel admits that the efforts of the CSCE and the EC on settling the conflict in Yugoslavia have not had much effect so far, he points out that the conference in The Hague has not yet been concluded. He does not think that recognizing Slovenia and Croatia is appropriate at the moment.

"In Yugoslavia, the most important thing now is to stop the fighting. Then the borders of the republics and the rights of the minorities must be laid down. Only then can one discuss further measures."

During his vacations in Spain, Vaclav Havel found time to write down his political ideas in several essays. Among other things, he names the conditions for his running again for president next year.

"The first condition, naturally, is that the federative state continues to exist. Then it depends on the results of the elections, on what the constitutions look like, and what role they give the president. And, of course, the people must want me. I will certainly not fight for my office, even if this distinguishes me from other presidents."

Havel Views Republic, Referendum, Treaty Issues

LD0710170691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 6 Oct 91

["Conversations at Lany": Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Stanislava Dufkova at Lany on 5 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Dufkova] Mr. President, last night you held a meeting with top constitutional representatives. Do you think today—let me remind listeners that it is now noon on 6 October—do you think that it will help calm the present political storm in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] That was the meeting's intention. I invited the prime ministers of our three governments and the chairmen of our three legislatures to attend an informal meeting last night. We spent several hours discussing the present situation in our country. I told them about my concern about the situation, that we face a danger of constitutional chaos, a danger that would be worse than a proper constitutional division of the state into two republics—that is, a danger that we will be neither, so to speak. We discussed the situation in great detail. We spent a long time discussing topics such as the geopolitical position of our Republic, the planned treaty [smlouva] between republics, the power sharing.

All those who were present agreed that most probably, at present, it is most important to focus on the planned treaty between the republics, which would be the basic design for the common state and which, if it should be achieved soon, could be the key to the three new constitutions—two republican ones and the federal. The treaty could resolve many things. I think that if the treaty is ready and concluded in the autumn, then the referendum would be a kind of ratification, confirmation, and recognition of the treaty, the confirmation of the will of all citizens—if its result should favor a common state. If we do not manage to conclude the treaty, then the referendum, if it should favor a common state, would be an impetus for the legislatures to conclude such a treaty as soon as possible. Then, adopting the three constitutions would not be a problem at all. If they respect the treaty, then there will be no danger that they will contradict each other, and there would be no danger of having a state where two sets of laws are in force.

There is a considerable dislike for the referendum idea in Slovakia and in the Slovak National Council. Thus, everything remains open. However, we managed to clarify various things at the meeting, and we agreed to meet again to discuss these issues. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] The screening bill has finally been passed. Are you happy with it?

[Havel] First, I must say that a great number of proposals voiced by deputies have been incorporated later into the bill, and I do not have its final text at my disposal yet. Thus, I cannot give my view on it yet. Undoubtedly, I will soon be able to read it. Nevertheless, I think that some of the new elements that have found their way into the bill are good and in harmony with my original vision of what the law should be like. It seems to me that, in some points, the law may be a bit too harsh, when the ban is extended to jobs like post office directors, and so on. This may possibly be going too far. This is my personal view. However, I think that it is important that

for 200 korunas every citizen can ask to be screened for his own peace of mind, or to know whether he can or cannot apply for particular jobs or posts, and that citizens have the right. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] The following sentence appears on page 25 of your book: Both the Slovaks, who repeatedly call on the Slovak National Council to finally declare independence, and the Czechs, who drink beer in pubs while repeating jovially to let them go, should dispel their illusions.

[Havel] I would like to comment on this issue a bit, even more so because, in our last "Conversations," I addressed Slovak politicians a bit. Perhaps it is suitable to balance it now by addressing Czech politicians and the Czech public.

They continue to demand something all the time. Let them go—that is an idea that has spread in Czech circles rather quickly, not only in pubs, as I mentioned, but also on the political scene. I do not share this idea. I think we cannot take the path that, if a part of our Republic annoys us, then we send it away. We already did this once, by sending away three million Germans because they annoyed us. We now would say: Let the Slovaks go away. Then we would say: Let them go away; let the Moravians go away. Such a policy could end with me finding myself alone in the castle, sending away everyone else with whom I have a problem. This is an irresponsible attitude.

This state was founded on the will of both nations and with their political representatives, while the Czech political representatives, above all Masaryk, played a dominant role. We, Czechs—to speak on behalf of the Czechs now—are responsible for this state as a whole.

There were reasons why this state was established in this form: Slovakia and the Czech lands belong to slightly different spheres of geopolitical influence, geopolitical interests, and Czechoslovakia has balanced this contradictory geopolitical interest to a certain extent. In fact, one nation, in a certain sense, helped the other nation oppose some possible demands by others to expand at its cost. I think that it would be irresponsible to reason that because, for instance, Slovak ambitions, political orientations, and society's feelings are different, then let them do what they want on their own, and let us, by ourselves, progress fearlessly and quickly in our march toward joining Europe without being weighed down by the Slovak weight. This is irresponsible; it is irresponsible not only toward the Czechs and toward the Slovaks but also toward the whole of Europe because, given the geopolitical position of our country, we also have some responsibilities regarding the overall European situation.

That is why—not just because of this, but this is one of the reasons—I support a common state, I support the federation. This is a responsibility of which I am aware, not only as a president of the federation but, paradoxically, also as a Czech. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] You will fly to Krakow tomorrow, and you will welcome here your esteemed guest from Germany on October 7. How are you preparing yourself for these two events?

[Havel] Both events are important. Again, I think that cooperation of the triad—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—continues to grow in purpose, in significance. I would even say that democratic West Europe and the United States, to a certain extent, wait to hear our common voice, our common initiatives, and, to a certain extent, wait to see whether we can reach consensus and coordinate our policies. [passage omitted]

The West and various supranational entities and organizations now face the tasks of determining how to react to a radically new situation in Europe; of looking for new concepts, new relations, with our countries; and of going through a phase of looking anew for their identity. Of course, we want them to help these new, inexperienced democracies, but at the same time, our duty is to help them a bit and introduce some impulses, not just go on demanding something, asking for something.

President Weizsaecker will arrive on 7 October. [passage omitted]

What matters most is that a foundation is being laid today for a totally new era of coexistence between our nations—the Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans—and that we have an opportunity now to put our relations on a totally new base, jointly taking the path toward the idea of the European integration and jointly building the democratic Europe. [passage omitted]

I think that our treaty is a good one. It was impossible to reach a better one today, either for the Germans or for us. It does not tackle some problems, and, in fact, it is not its task to tackle them. I am glad that the treaty will be signed during President Weizsaecker's visit. [passage omitted]

I consider objections to the treaty, not having been published yet, to be incorrect and unjustified. [passage omitted]

Daily: No Chance for Havel's Referendum

AU0810125791 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Oct 91 p 6

[Jiri Leschtina commentary: "Laughter From the Semi-Darkness"]

[Excerpts] Responding to the proposal of the Federal Assembly's political steering collegium of 30 September to postpone the discussion of the constitutional bills needed to call a referendum, a high-level official of the Czech Republic Government Presidium Office exclaimed: "That is a slap in the president's face!" But, rather than being a gesture of defiance toward the head of state, the determination of the chairmen of the parliamentary clubs to postpone this discussion and to put

the referendum on the agenda of the next joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers is dictated by a sober estimate of the balance of forces.

Hardly anyone noticed an episode that took place in the Chamber of Nations, only a few hours after Vaclav Havel's address to the Federal Assembly [on 24 September]. The Club of Deputies of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] disagreed with the proposal of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] that deputy V. Meciar be assigned a seat in the Foreign Affairs Committee and proposed that he be assigned one in the Environmental Affairs Committee instead. When the VPN's counterproposal passed, one HZDS deputy lost his nerve and declared that, at last, all patience has been exhausted and that, from now on, not a single constitutional law would pass in the Federal Assembly. He knew what he was saying.

A quiet coalition made up of Slovak National Party, Party of the Democratic Left, and HZDS deputies has come into being in the legislature, which is capable of obstructing the adoption of any constitutional law. The passage of a constitutional law requires a minimum of 45 votes in the Slovak part of the Chamber of Nations, a figure that the present government coalition of the VPN and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] can never put together—all the more so because some KDH representatives listened with unconcealed delight to the tirades against the president's idea of a blitz referendum, which came mostly from HZDS deputies. [passage omitted]

In view of this situation, the chiefs of individual political groups in the legislature reached the conclusion that the discussion at the current meeting about the bills that are needed to call a referendum is doomed to failure in advance. Officially, the standpoint of the National Councils is awaited. Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky claims that there will still be time to hold the referendum by the end of the year, since the deadline for holding a referendum that ensues from the constitutional law [on the referendum] can be changed by another constitutional law. However, the new Slovak nationalist coalition is only laughing at all this from the semi-darkness of the legislative lobbies.

Federal Constitution Talks End, More Planned

LD0810094791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Milada Richterova reports on the results of today's eighth session of the Commission of Deputies of the Federal Assembly and both National Councils, for the purpose of preparing the Federal Constitution:

[Richterova] We can hardly progress any further if the delimitation and extent of powers between the Republics and the Federation is not clear. Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, said after a two-hour exchange of views by those taking part. The fact that today's meeting has not brought about the expected results—that is, the constructive assessment of a working proposal of the Federal Constitution in its variable forms—is corroborated by the view of Czech National Council Chairman Dagmar Buresova. In her view, one has to revert to the basic question—that is, further progress in adopting the constitutions and the powers of the Republics and the Federation. In this connection, she pointed out, jointly with Marian Posluch, chairman of the expert group for the preparation of the Federal Constitution, that if the National Councils do not ratify a Federal Constitution on the basis of the agreement adopted between them, an appropriate situation for calling a referendum would arise.

The result of today's meeting of the Commission of the Federal Assembly for the Preparation of the Constitution with representatives of the Czech and the Slovak National Councils was an agreement stating that, concurrently with the work on the constitution, work on the agreement between the Czech and the Slovak National Councils will continue; the work on the constitutions of the two republics will continue as well. Tentatively, working drafts of all the three constitutions should be prepared by the end of November, while the part concerning division of powers between the federation and the republics will be completed on the basis of the draft constitutions of the two republics. The presidia of the Czech and the Slovak National Councils are due to meet for talks on these questions in the second half of October.

Conflicting Opinions on Screening Bill Reported

AU0710112591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Oct 91 pp 1, 12

["nel, jik" signed report: "Defense of Democracy; Screening Law; Rights of a Citizen and Rights of the State]

[Excerpts] "This piece of legislation is not of a criminal law nature. Every citizen has the right to apply for any position, but the state has the right to impose certain qualifying conditions," rapporteur of the Chamber of Nations committees, deputy M. Farkas (Public Against Violence movement), said during the discussion in the Federal Assembly on the bill that defines some additional conditions for occupying certain positions in the state bodies and CSFR organizations.

Interior Minister J. Langos, who was defending the proposal, described it as a protection of newly and democratically forming institutions from people who participated in the violation of human rights. The situation in the Assembly was rather complex: The Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber did not pass the bill, while the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the Chamber of Nations did. Moreover, even before the rapporteurs' reports, deputy J. Wagner (group of Social Democratic Orientation) moved that the discussion be interrupted until a statement was received from the European Commission for Democracy by Means of Law. A. Dubcek asked the

chairman of this commission for its opinion on the compatibility of the screening bill with the European Convention on Human Rights and with the conventions of the International Labor Organization. In the debate that followed, deputies rejected Wagner's motion, pointing out, among other things, that the Federal Assembly is a sovereign constitutional body.

A clash of opinions also came forth in the debate. Deputy I. Fisera moved, in the name of the Social Democratic Organization, that the relevant stipulation not be applied to the citizens who demonstrated their opposition to the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 to 1969, if they did not work in their posts after 1970. Deputy Petr Toman, speaking for the clubs of the Civic Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Christian and Democratic Union, the Public Against Violence movement, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia I, the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and some deputies of the Slovak National Party, introduced an extensive list of changes to the government version, which he described as unacceptable. They were all aimed at preventing this bill from being called the "law for the protection of security agents." Deputy V. Benda (Christian Democratic Party-Liberal Democratic Party) promised that if the article on the criminal prosecution of the people who make these data public were not removed from the law, he and his friends would use the names of the Security Police agents in the Assembly. Deputy J. Sokol (Civic Movement) emphasized that this law is to serve toward the protection of democracy. Personally, he could not consider it as protection, if the law were to punish even the people who struggled for the revival of this democracy. Deputy J. Mlynarik (Public Against Violence movement) announced that he will continue to demand a publication of the complete list of the agents. He pointed out that those who speak against the screening in Slovakia are close to those who reject the referendum, and keep appealing to the nation. Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Z. Jicinsky (Civic Movement) pointed out in his contribution that the bill introduces into the labor law an unacceptable retroactivity. Other contributors argued in the same spirit—the left wing demanded that the law be softened, the right wing wanted it hardened. [passage omitted]

Poll Shows ODS, HZDS Strongest Parties

AU0710150291 Prague CSTK in English 1913 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CSTK)— Nine months before Czechoslovakia's next parliamentary elections, scheduled to be held by June 1992, leading the pack are the right-wing Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in the Czech Republic and the opposition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in Slovakia.

At the beginning of September, the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research asked 1,206 people nationwide which political party or movement they would most likely vote for if elections to the Federal Assembly (parliament) were held the following week.

The ODS, led by Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, received the support of 18 percent of the respondents in the Czech Republic, retaining its hold on first place. Though losing about one third of its backers since May, the HZDS under former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar still racked up more "votes" than any other Slovak party with 26 percent.

In the Czech lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, the Czechoslovak Social Democrats (CSSD) obtained nine percent, knocking the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), with seven percent, out of second place. The Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) ranked fourth, registering six percent. 29 percent of the respondents were undecided, an increase over past surveys.

Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) finished second in Slovakia with 16 percent backing. Coming next with over 10 percent each were the Slovak National Party (SNS) and the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), formerly the Slovak Communist Party.

Asked whether they were in favor of trade unions participating in the elections, 20 percent of those surveyed said "yes," and 35 percent said "no." 15 percent said union candidates should instead appear on the list of a political party or movement and 11 percent said unions should not field their own candidates but could lend support to others. The rest had no opinion.

Further results of the poll:

The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), the Czech Greens Party, and the Civic Movement (along with ODS, one of the two successors to the Civic Forum, which spearheaded the November 1989 revolution) all took four percent in the Czech Republic.

In Slovakia the Civic Forum's former ally, the Public Against Violence (VPN), was preferred by six percent of the respondents, the Democratic Party (DS) by four percent, the Hungarian Coexistence movement (Egyutteles) got three percent, and the high-profile Slovak Greens polled just two percent.

Rounding out the Czech spectrum were the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Agrarian Party (ZS), and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), each with two percent.

Ruml: Talks With KGB 'Did Not Dispel' Fears

AU0410155391 Prague CTK in English 2136 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 30 (CTK)— Vadim Bakatin, chief of the Soviet KGB (secret police), has told Czechoslovak First Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml he is ready to cooperate with Czechoslovakia in clearing up the "blank spots" in the history of the two countries' relations.

In an interview with CTK Martin Fendrych, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry, discussed Ruml's talks on September 26-27 with representatives of the Soviet and Russian Interior Ministries, and the Soviet and Russian KGB.

Ruml told Bakatin that further cooperation between their ministries depends on the willingness of KGB officials to disclose information about certain key periods.

Czechoslovak politicians have said they are primarily interested in obtaining archival information about the communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and the 1968 Soviet-led invasion that crushed a Communist-led reform movement in the country.

On Septen:ber 10 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev promised Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in Moscow that the Soviet archives would be opened.

Fendrych said the talks did not dispel Czechoslovak fears of the KGB.

Ruml told Bakatin Czechoslovakia wants to be sure that the Soviet KGB no longer targets Czechoslovakia.

Viktor Ivanenko, chairman of the Russian KGB, said the Russian KGB will not work against Czechoslovakia. It will concentrate only on internal threats to the Russian federation's security.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 1 October on page 2 carries a 500-word CTK report on Martin Fendrych's interview for CTK. It includes the following passage: "According to M. Fendrych, Vadim Bakatin showed 'clear political determination to break up the KGB in its present form,' to establish cooperation with the Archive of the Federal Ministry of Interior, and to cooperate in clearing up the so-called blank spots in history. V. Bakatin did not rule out the possibility of another coup attempt in the USSR." The CSFR Interior Ministry spokesman is also quoted as having said that Russian KGB Chairman "Viktor Ivanenko announced that the recently passed law on the KGB has ceased to be valid because it does not respect human rights."]

YPA Asks Permission To Withdraw Via Hungary

LD0710194391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The Yugoslav military leadership is asking the Hungarian Government to allow some 2,500 federal soldiers to withdraw from Slovenia through Murakeresztur on Hungarian territory. The Hungarian consul-general in Zagreb has informed the Slovene foreign minister about this. Dimitrij Rupel answered that it would become a sensitive point in relations between Ljubljana and Budapest if the Hungarian Government gave permission to the federal troops to pass through. At the same time, he stated that Ljubljana appreciates Hungary's hitherto calm stance in connection with Slovenia. Dimitrij Rupel said that Ljubljana wishes to hold talks with the leaders of the Yugoslav Army on a sensible way to withdraw the the central military forces.

Response Expected 'Soon'

LD0810100691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Hungary will soon reply to the Yugoslav request that federal military convoys withdrawing from Slovenia should be allowed to pass through Hungarian territory when returning to their stations.

Janos Herman, Foreign Ministry spokesman, points out that foreign troops can only enter the territory of our country with the agreement of the National Assembly. Janos Herman mentioned that a few days ago the Italian Government rejected a similar Yugoslav request.

Defense Spokesman Keleti Views Yugoslav Crisis

AU0710171991 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 5 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified reporters; place and date not given: "The Yugoslav Crisis Could Last Longer—There Have Been No Extraordinary Military Measures"]

[Text] The Hungarian public has developed a sense of fear due to the situation in Yugoslavia. One can see that an increasing number of people are afraid that the flames of this close war could also burn across Hungary's borders. There are people who openly ask whether Hungary could be dragged into this armed conflict. Our correspondents spoke with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti about these issues:

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Does the Defense Ministry feel this atmosphere?

[Keleti] Of course, citizens' letters and observations also arrive at the Defense Ministry. We have exact information, and we know that soldiers also worry about the situation, although no dramatic observations have come from soldiers. They agree with the calm and moderate declarations and measures. At the same time, the contents of letters and observations from civilians show a more varied picture. Most of these observations agree with the regulations, but there are also letters that accuse the Defense Ministry leaders of cowardice for not taking comprehensive measures so far that, in their view, would prove both in words and deeds that we are ready to defend our country. According to one letter: "Defense Ministry declarations show cowardice rather than caution. Our borders are virtually a crossing passage, and although this might seem democratic and nice for world public opinion, it is far from being safe." Another letter says the following: "As a man who participated in World War II, I suggest that you should strengthen the border area militarily, with rapid deployment units at more important points (tank and armored vehicle units)." There were letters like this too: ".... I very much hope that finally you will realize that protests are worthless and tough measures are needed!" These letters show that not everyone understands that reaction to the situation in Yugoslavia is primarily a political or, more exactly, a foreign policy task. Thus, a reflex dictated by fear is alive, namely that we must immediately react to the military actions along our borders with the introduction of extraordinary military regulations.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] You also said that armed combat was taking place near our borders. Can the Defense Ministry disregard this fact?

[Keleti] Not at all! All the more so because the Yugoslav Federal Army is one of the main protagonists in the events. It is also a fact that no extraordinary military measures have been implemented in Hungary. Our soldiers are in their barracks, and their normal and usual training is under way. In other words, we are not letting ourselves be disturbed by these events, and we are not changing our routine as long as the circumstances permit. However, this does not mean that the leaders of the Hungarian Army have not introduced preventive defense measures on the basis of a continuous evaluation of the situation and, if justified, that the Army leadership would not extend these measures. So far, measures have been taken primarily to improve the surveillance capacity of our Air Force's radar system at our southern borders and to strengthen our Air Force's state of alert.

Of course, in close cooperation with other responsible government bodies, the leadership of the Hungarian Defense Ministry is following with increasing attention the civil war being waged on the territory of our southern neighbor, a civil war for which the possibility of a political solution is becoming increasingly unlikely. Our ministry is also aware of the fact that everything we are now witnessing in Yugoslavia is not an unexpected conflict, but possibly a long crisis stemming from deep historic roots, a conflict based on old and suppressed emotions.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] We know that Hungary is formulating a new security policy concept, and the Basic Defense Principles formulated together with the public are strongly connected with this new security policy concept. Do these important documents take the possibility of a long conflict along our borders into consideration?

[Keleti] Hungary's security policy concepts regard past and current events as proof that Europe, including Eastern-Central Europe, is living through a period of constant change and transition. Old structures have collapsed, structures considered to be unbreakable, and the security system based on the confrontation between the two military blocs, a system considered to be eternal, is also changing today. The days of the policy of deterrence are over. A new cooperative security system is emerging in Europe, as a result of a long process that is also full of contradictions. Of course, this also means that the time is not too far off when armed conflicts will no longer take place in Europe. It is true that there might be controversial issues between national minorities, but it is impossible to solve these issues with arms because violence only suppresses emotions and, as history has repeatedly proved, these emotions surface later in an explosion. War cannot be the accepted form of settling any conflict, and violence cannot justify any political desire. Does this Hungarian military concept, a concept that also applies to the Yugoslav crisis, hide our cowardice and weakness? I am convinced that it does not. It also means a European way of thinking. In formulating our Basic Defense Principles, we declared that, apart from defending Hungary's sovereignty and territorial integrity, we have no other goals that can be achieved with military force, and we do not make others feel threatened. However, this also obliges us today to carefully uncover the sources of danger that can directly or indirectly affect Hungary's security, and we do this without seeking or creating an enemy image.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] This means that the Yugoslav civil war did not take your ministry by surprise?

[Keleti] The possibility of a civil war was, if I may say, in the air. Everyone who has followed recent developments in Yugoslavia closely can verify this fact. However, all events that threaten people's lives, even if they are reckoned with, happen unexpectedly. In this case, the reality turned out to be even more terrible than anyone could have expected. It is true that earlier, at the time of the drawing up the Basic Defense Principles, we already reckoned with the possible source of danger that a civil war in a neighboring country could present for Hungary—this was only a general possibility and did not actually refer to Yugoslavia. However, this was only the anticipation of a possible danger. In this situation, it is fundamentally important to observe our obligations laid down in international agreements to the highest degree, in other words, in no way do we interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. We give neither advice nor material means to help the opposing parties of a region locked in civil war, but we express our wish for a peaceful settlement at all official international forums.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Everyone agrees with that, but people—mainly those who live close to the Hungarian-Yugoslav border—feel directly threatened.

[Keleti] In the current situation, it is perfectly understandable that people—especially at the affected border areas—have developed a feeling of fear and defenselessness. This is reflected in the aforementioned comments and letters. Our feeling of security can be increased in many ways. The most important of these ways is to let people become familiar with our intentions and the measures that assure our impartiality on the one hand and—in a given situation—provide sufficient military defense on the other. We also base our assessment of the situation on historical experience. Civil wars rarely spread to other countries, because the warring parties do not have united political and military aims in connection with other countries. We can see from the current situation that some extremist nationalist groupings may exist, which, led by provocative intentions or through misjudgment of the balance of power, might strain relations—in a given situation, even with Hungary. This is what obliges us to have a larger than average amount of self-moderation, soberness, and consideration. Any smaller or larger scale demonstration of power would be against our principles as long as the sovereignty of Hungary is not actually threatened or endangered deliberately with military means—and we have not yet seen any real indication or assessment as regards that. However, in addition to our principles, we do not want to provide an excuse to any political force or extremist armed group for a political or military provocation against Hungary either. I also have to mention with honesty that the technical level of our Army can justly be criticized—due to the lack of previous technical development. This fact has been mentioned increasingly frequently in connection with the current civil war in the SFRY. However, to have a more objective view, I would mention the fact that the weapons of our neighboring countries are not more modern either. When assessing our defense capabilities, we must not leave the human factors aside either, and these factors are increasingly determined by the commitment toward a truly independent homeland. We are able and ready, if necessary, to defend our country and our borders. The leaders and the employees of the Defense Ministry, as well as the professionals, the conscripts, and the reserves of the Hungarian Army are completely committed and united in this matter.

MDF Favors Slovene, Croatian Recognition

AU0710155291 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Oct 91 p 4

[Varju report: "The MDF Favors Recognition of Croatia and Slovenia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At a small, confidential meeting, Balazs Horvath, managing chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], stated that the largest Hungarian governing party believed that to exert greater pressure, all the countries of the world should join together and recognize Croatia's and Slovenia's independence as soon as possible. This was Horvath's reaction to the fact that high-level West European poli

ticians have actually called Hungary to account for postponing a governmental decision on this issue. Horvath felt it necessary to explain that the only reason Hungary is being careful is because, apparently, in Vojvodina and Serbia, ethnic Hungarians aged 17 to 50 are being forced to take part in the fighting. [passage omitted]

According to Istvan Csurka, Hungary sides with the overrun Croatia and the bleeding Slovenia. At the same time, the MDF's policy currently depends on developments bearing on the security of Hungarians living in Serbia and Vojvodina. Istvan Csurka stated: "We are neutral in this debate, but we are not neutral as regards the future of Hungarians."

'Breakthrough' in Soviet Relations Reported

LD0810010791 Warsaw PAP in English 2314 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Breakthrough in Polish-Soviet Relations"—PAP headline]

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 7—The deputy foreign ministers of Poland and the USSR, Jerzy Makarczyk and Yuriy Dyeryabin, removed Monday the last barrier on the road to the signing of the Polish-Soviet treaty on cooperation and good neighbourliness. The talks were completed on Monday and the treaty is now ready for approval by the highest authorities in the two states.

Makarczyk made assurances that the treaty excluded anything which would limit Poland's sovereignty. He stated that everything concerning the "satellite doctrine" had been removed, and that the clauses on security were in line with international law.

According to Makarczyk, "We have achieved the best and most modern text geared to future European cooperation". He stressed that the treaty did not violate the rights and commitments of the republics of the former USSR, (i.e. it does not clash with Polish policy towards these countries—PAP).

Makarczyk expects that the Polish-Soviet pact will be initialled before the end of the month during the planned visit to Warsaw of the foreign minister of the USSR, Boris Pankin.

Before that visit the 13th round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland will be taking place in Warsaw where the final decisions on the political aspects of the problem will be made. "I have reasons to believe that all the Soviet Army combat units will leave Poland by the end of the next year," announced Makarczyk.

Questioned on the greater likelihood of Lech Walesa visiting Moscow because of these developments, Makarczyk replied that the president was always declaring his readiness to go there. However, the possibility of a presidential visit to Moscow depended on settling the question of Soviet troop withdrawal and the signing of the treaty on cooperation, since such a visit would make sense only if it opened up a really new stage in relations between Poland and the USSR.

Makarczyk stressed that the Moscow talks had been held in a splendid atmosphere and that they had been very constructive.

In his opinion they prove that Poland's foreign policy in the east has been justified. He explained why: "A year ago we formulated two aims: guaranteeing full sovereignty for our state and creating the best possible relations with our eastern neighbour."

Bielecki, Antall View Bilateral Talks in Warsaw

LD0710193491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] [Announcer] Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is in Warsaw on a two-day visit. Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met with the Hungarian guest at the Office of the Council of Ministers. After a brief private talk, both prime ministers next chaired Polish-Hungarian plenary talks. At a meeting with journalists, the prime ministers said inter alia:

[Begin recording] [Bielecki] Our meeting today is a continuation of the meeting yesterday of the Kracow summit. Our strategic aim is cooperation between European institutions in the sphere of work related to economic integration, in the sphere of political cooperation, and in the sphere of the system of security, where an important question for us is the search for the institutionalization of contacts with NATO and with the West European Union. Thus, if the aim and methods are so much in common, the point would be to carry out a review of bilateral relations in the sphere of widely understood matters relating to public security, as we have to deal with such negative phenomena as international crime, including the international trade in narcotics. There is also the sphere of economic cooperation, with special attention to the problem of the conversion of the armaments industry—this is our mutual problem—and there is also the sphere of cultural cooperation.

[Antall in Hungarian with superimposed Polish translation] I would like to stress here that I feel it to be exceptionally important that Hungarian-Polish relations maintain the significance and weight that they have had previously. It is in our interest to develop our economic relations. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the evening, Prime Minister Antall unveiled in Warsaw's Old Town a memorial plaque commemorating his father, the commissioner of the Hungarian Government for refugees during World War II. He was a great friend of Poland and helped many Poles during difficult times for our country.

Call for UN Talks on SFRY

LD0810092191 Warsaw PAP in English 0811 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, October 8 (MTI)—A statement proposing the urgent summoning of the Security Council in view of the escalating Yugoslav situation was issued on Monday evening in Warsaw, at the end of the first day of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's official visit to Poland.

The prime ministerial statement issued by Antall and Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, condemns the Yugoslav Federal Armed Forces far more sharply than earlier.

The decision to issue the document was made by the prime ministers at a gala dinner on Monday evening, after learning of the attack against Zagreb.

The document notes: The armed activity of the Federal Army (Yugoslav People's Army) on the area of Croatia, and the aggression against Croatia, are activities banned by international law, particularly by the charter of the United Nations.

The armed conflict on the area of Croatia does not fall under the heading of an internal affair, but is rather an armed action against the efforts of nations based on the right to self-determination. Self-determination implies the right to statehood, the right to autonomy, and to ensure the rights of the minorities.

The prime ministers demand an immediate stop to the armed fighting. In their view, international peace-keeping forces should be dispatched on the area of Croatia. They believe the UN Security Council, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Communities, the Hexagonale and other competent organizations should take immediate and effective steps to halt the armed actions, and to ensure the implementation of the right to self-determination. They hold the summoning of the UN Security Council to be expedient.

Report on Interior Ministry Activity Completed

AU0710134691 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 2 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Deputy Jan Rokita told a press conference here Wednesday that the Sejm (lower house) extraordinary committee set up in 1989 to examine the activity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW) in the years 1981-1989 has completed its final report in which it stresses that "the main aim of the MSW's activity in that period was to ensure an uncontrolled power over citizens to its own apparatus, including power over their life and health."

Rokita said the report prepared by the committee he chaired included a confidential part which has been already handed over to the prosecutor's office. It covers developments in the "Wujek" mine where 9 miners were killed by militia in December 1981. Rokita charges former Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, former Vice-Minister Wladyslaw Ciaston and the late militia chief Jozef Bejm with the "shameful" course of the investigation.

Another part of the report concerning the activity of the 4th MSW department (dealing with church affairs) was made confidential by Internal Minister Henryk Majewski for the good of the investigation.

The committee examined 115 unexplained deaths and in 88 cases it obliged the prosecutor general's office to resume investigations. Rokita said that until July 12, 1991, the prosecutor's office opened only 12 cases and described its work as ineffective.

The committee said that since December 12, 1981, 100 MSW functionaries and 70 prosecutors committed offences in connection with cases examined by the committee.

Meanwhile, former interior minister Czeslaw Kiszczak sent a letter to Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz in which he criticized the report.

Kiszczak opined that the document was shaping public opinion and prejudging a final verdict. He also stressed the report did not fulfill expectations for a full and detailed explanation of circumstances of actions the MSW was charged with.

Kiszczak also presented his stance on some charges included in the report. He rejected the thesis that while preparing the introduction of martial law the MSW was acting in an anti-constitutional way and stressed that the Constitution provided for the introduction of martial law in conditions of external and internal threats and that such conditions existed in the years 1980-1981.

He also recalled that martial law was introduced not by the minister of internal affairs but by the Council of State.

The former interior minister also rejected the committee's statement that the MSW was a state within a state not submitted to any control. He described the report as a "clearly political document."

Minister Explains State Intervention in Economy

LD0810093691 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 7—The government will play a more active role in the Polish economy, the minister for ownership changes, Janusz Lewandowski, told reporters here Monday.

A leader of the Polish Liberal Democratic Party committed to economic liberalism, Lewandowski was quick to point out that the more prominent role of the state will be limited to certain areas, namely the group of best companies and the regions worst hit by the recession.

The scope and scale of state intervention in the economy will be defined in detail in a document now under preparation and headlined "The Guidelines of Social and Economic Policy in 1992," which Minister Lewandowski described as a sort of the last will of the present cabinet.

Lewandowski was speaking during a press conference on the future of state-owned enterprises that was to be also attended by Industry minister Mrs Henryka Bochniarz. She could not come, however, owing to other urgent matters.

Ministers' Council on EC Membership, Environment

AU0810094991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 91 p 1

[Malgorzata Subotic report: "The EC and the Railways"]

[Text] "The government is pleased with the compromise that has been reached with the EC," Government Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told the Council of Ministers meeting on 2 October. "Needless to say, this compromise does not answer all of our expectations, and now we must examine the revised EC stance to ascertain the advantages and disadvantages inherent in the new proposal."

Drzycimski said that, in two weeks time, the Council of Ministers will adopt a package of legislation to counteract corruption. It will include a law that places restrictions on economic activity by persons holding public service posts. "The Council agreed that, in principle, the law should prevent persons in managerial positions from deriving any advantages from their position, but on the other hand, we wish to avoid a situation where highly qualified persons leave their posts because the law is too strict," Drzycimski explained.

The Environment Ministry suggests that environmental protection measures be financed not just out of the state budget, but also by private firms, e.g. foreign forms that have set up business here. It has been estimated that environmental damage is costing 10 percent of the national income.

The ministry foresees a three-stage environmental program that would eliminate the greatest dangers to the environment in the course of three years and reduce harmful emissions by half in the course of 10 years, by which time Poland would enjoy a "healthy environment."

The Council of Ministers suggested that rolling stock repair facilities and construction enterprises belonging to the State Railways be made independent from it. New labor agreements would safeguard the rights of employees in these enterprises, e.g. persons employed by the State Railways for at least 15 years would retain the right to an earlier retirement.

An interministerial team appointed last Tuesday is to solve the financial and organizational problems of enterprises in the arms industry, said the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers announced an offer for the Soviet Union to participate in building the power plant at Zarnowce.

Government Spokesman Calls Campaign 'Slanderous'

LD0710193891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Statement by Government Press Spokesman Andrzej Zarebski on the electoral campaign, in Warsaw on 7 October—recorded]

[Text] This campaign is sometimes irresponsible and slanderous. One is amazed at the ease one can lay charges—often heavy ones—against others. These charges are usually so craftily formulated that they cannot result in court cases, and yet they cause an atmosphere of suspicion and despondency in society. Especially excelling in this area are the post-Communist forces, which count on society's short memory and which suggest that the cause of Poland's troubles—its budget and the decline in the living standard of its citizens—was the two-year rule of Solidarity [words indistinct] that the Communists gave up their power only because they had led the country to bankruptcy—a financial as well as moral bankruptcy. Talks with the opposition began only when reserves were exhausted. Leftist political activists originating from those currents, which ruled Poland for almost 50 years, appear as defendants of the social welfare of employees and suggest that Solidarity is responsible for this country's bad state. That is why we are even more amazed at the fact that those same politicians—or their heirs—are creating such an atmosphere of suspicion and are referring to some utopian proposals that are obviously not going to be implemented after the elections.

Iliescu Wants Stanculescu, Nastase in Next Cabinet

AU0710134291 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[A. M. PRESS note: "Condition Set by President Ion Iliescu"]

[Text] From presidential sources, we have learned that the discussions in connection with setting up a new cabinet conducted by Mr. Theodor Stolojan will take quite a long time. While a so-called consensus has been reached regarding the appointment of a prime minister, and while even the opposition endorsed this choice (Mr. Coposu asked for an "independent" and a "technocrat," qualities that the new prime minister has), things are more complicated when it comes to the ministries. "Each party represented in Parliament requests ministerial portfolios, something that is impossible," the presidency spokesman, Mr. Alexandru Mironov, told our agency. He also firmly ruled out the rumor spread by certain publications that the new cabinet would be announced today, 4 October.

From reliable sources, our agency has learned the names of two ministers of the Stolojan cabinet. They are Victor Atanasie Stanculescu and Adrian Nastase. Their presence in the cabinet was requested and firmly conditioned by President Ion Iliescu. During the talks held at Cotroceni Palace between the president and the new prime minister, the latter accepted the condition set by Mr. Iliescu. Thus, without any hesitation, two of the ministers of the future cabinet can be entered on the list of the executive power.

Iliescu Cites Requisites of New Government

AU0710111591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0937 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—The activity of the government that is to be formed by Premier-Designate Theodor Stolojan has to comply with three essential requisites, namely: to enjoy the support of the political parties in the Parliament, the support of the population and international support, in order to get sources of credit and attract foreign capital for the refloating and updating of the Romanian economy, stated Romania's President Ion Iliescu on Sunday [6 October] night in an interview with the Romanian Television. President Iliescu insisted on the importance of the popular support and on the clear explanation of the new government's objectives, of the realistic minimal program, both in the economy and as regarded the settlement of the social issues: control of inflation and an optimum correlation of prices and salaries. The head of state mentioned the positive signals got both from the country and from abroad in connection with Stolojan's appointment to form the new government and praised his professional standing, his economic studies, his firmness and moral tenure as guarantees offered by the premier-designate for the continuity of the democratic transformations and of the reform.

Also, President Iliescu denied the existence of a conflict with Petre Roman or of a struggle for power, terming such assertions as absurd and come from permanently slandering circles. His relations with Petre Roman were characterized ever since December 1989 by full understanding and confidence and there are no major disagreements on basic issues. The existence of differences of views and nuances is most natural.

As for the claim that Premier Roman did not resign but just handed over the mandate, the president mentioned that, according to the election law, which had also a constitutional character, and according to jurists' interpretation, to hand the mandate over was the same as to resign.

Referring to the causes of the miners' coming to Bucharest, Romania's president assessed that "a number of factors and elements were accumulated, and that advantage was taken of the tension generated by objective phenomena to be found all over the country as regards the economic situation". In connection with the various allegations about the cause of the events generated by the miners, the president rejected "assertions without evidence and proven facts", hoping that "those who advanced such accusations will be able to produce real evidences based on which the prosecution and judiciary bodies may establish due liabilities". Referring specifically to Senator Gelu Voican Voiculescu's assertions made in the Parliament, the president assessed as "venturesome this manner to launch scenarios and accusations". However, he mentioned, to attack state institutions "is a flagrant violation of laws" and appreciated "the democratic behavior of the parliamentarians when faced with the violence of those who burst in the headquarters of the country's Parliament".

About the miners' political claims stated during the events, the president said that "it is always the same circles, the same forces that take every opportunity, use every discontent in order to bring to the fore such slogans". "I have signals that the miners themselves will more carefully think things over and draw conclusions from the way they can be used by forces that are alien to them and to the country's interests alike", President Iliescu said.

The president was not able to state whether there was a connection between the miners' coming to Bucharest and the planned Austrian visit by Prime Minister Petre Roman or the introduction of the convertibility of the lei, but he stressed that the preoccupation of the country's leadership and of the government on those days was the debate in the UN Security Council regarding the establishment of an international arbitration for the settlement of domestic issues, an idea that was eventually rejected.

"I broke away with communist dogmas a long time before the December 1989 revolution, and it was for

good." President Ion Iliescu said in his interview televised Sunday, October 6. "I have said several times that this dogma, not rooted in reality, based on abstract mental schemes, has had no chances to work. I repeated that at my recent meeting with the Romanian Diaspora. " The regime which named itself "socialist" was an inhuman rule, a form of pre-feudal despotism, in which the political superstructure suffocated the economy, the people's initiative, human creation and freedom, added President Iliescu. He also mentioned that generous ideas of social equity had always accompanied social movements militating social progress. Mr. Iliescu concluded that it was necessary for democratization, individual freedom, the encouraging of creative capacities to be coupled with measures of social protection.

Miners Trade Union Administration Talks Begin

AU0710203491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—A survey of the situation in the Motru coal field, Gorj County, was made on Monday, October 7, as a continuation of the steps taken to set the package of measures to improve the working and living conditions of the miners.

Pointing to the efficiency of the complex, multiple dialogues held starting Friday, October 4 in the units of the Rovinari coal field—talks attended by members of the administration board of the Lignite Public Corporation as well as by members of the parliamentary commission analyzing the miners' socioeconomic problems—Mr. Radu Mironovici, chairman of the administration board of Tirgu Jiu Lignite Public Corporation, expressed dissatisfaction at the representation level of the Gorj and Mehedinti County Prefectures to the meeting with the leaders of mining trade unions of Motru and other units in the Mehedinti coal field. "The population of Motru is confronted with serious problems. That is why at least a sub-prefect of Gorj should have been here alongside the mayor of the town, greatly concerned with the unfolding of the meeting. But no one came. We will not be able to answer all the questions of the trade unions," Mr. Mironovici stressed to a ROMPRES correspondent.

Ion Feurdean, leader of the trade union organization of the Lupoaia quarry miners stated to the same correspondent: "The eight-day strike at Lupoaia concerned, inter alia, tangible aspects of our life, of our families' life in Motru. We want our town to be supplied with gas, drinking water, a better bread and we want that a third school be build for our children. Although last week we believed in a constructive, sincere dialogue now we are indignant. Maybe somebody hears us. We do not ask anyone's resignation. We want to see what can be done, in a civilized manner, in a legal framework, to have better working and living conditions."

Cosma: Government Lost Touch With Masses

AU0710152191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1356 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Political Life—Miron Cosma: 'The Toppled Government Had Lost Touch With the Masses'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/10/1991—In an interview for "COTIDIANUL," that appears in Bucharest, the Jiu Valley Coal Miners' Union leader Miron Cosma reasserted his view according to which, in the labour conflict that started in the Jiu Valley mines and sparked the events of 25-27 September in Bucharest, "the miners followed the normal course of union struggle" and it was the government's refusal to talk to them that made them demand, once in Bucharest, the resignation of the government.

While considering that "the prime minister is the only one to blame for everything that happened," Miron Cosma admitted he was determined to talk with the premier not so much for social claims, as for the desire to show the ex-prime minister he was a stranger to the economic problems of the Jiu Valley. "The miners do not wish to be the ones to regulate the affairs of this country," said Cosma, in whose opinion "if the former government lost so much, it was for lack of contact with the masses."

"I want everyone to understand clearly that we have not been against the reform. We are the advocates of the reform and we do wish the democratisation of Romanian society. We are no defenders of communism or neocommunism. History has proved that we were, maybe, the first to fight against communism," he said alluding to the 1977 strike of the miners, during Ceausescu's dictatorship.

During the interview, Miron Cosma expressed the miners' intention to invite the new premier, Theodor Stolojan, to visit the Jiu Valley.

Civic Alliance Leader Calls For 'Early Elections'

AU0710203091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1909 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—"Early elections are the only solution," Nicolae Manolescu, leader of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], told a news conference held at the Bucharest City History Museum on Monday, October 7.

Referring to the recent visit he paid to the United States together with Smaranda Enache, member of the PAC Steering Committee, Nicolae Manolescu said: "Our impression is that at present, as far as Romania is concerned, the United States are interested in political stability, the ensurance of a legislative framework at a European standard guaranteeing the cooperation between Romania and the United States and the existence of a real pluralism, of a united opposition able to offer a viable alternative to the present government team."

As for the new government to be formed by Mr. Stolojan, the PAC leader said that "in conditions of maintaining the present composition of the Parliament" he did not believe it could solve the serious problems confronting the country. He stressed that "his party would not cooperate with any government that was not the expression of another elected Parliament."

As for the miners' coming to Bucharest Mr. Manolescu said he was not sure those who had come had come because they wanted to nor that all had been genuine miners. Occult forces were invoked which seem never to be proved.

The leader of the Civic Alliance Party Nicolae Manolescu told a news conference on Monday, October 7, that the recent events caused by the miners' coming to Bucharest had rendered the situation in Romania even more complicated, creating a confused image in the eyes of the civilised world. The PAC representatives stressed that those events were foreseeable in consideration of a wrong outlook on the reform and the hesitation of Romania's present leadership in demolishing the old communist structures. As early as the days of the putsch in Moscow, the Civic Alliance Party had warned the officials in Bucharest about the danger that the Soviet script might occur in Romania as well. But nobody listened to it, most of the institutions responsible for the country's fate protesting against the August declaration-appeal unfortunately confirmed by subsequent events. The president, the government, the ruling party did not draw all the conclusions from that tragedy. Instead of a clearsighted analysis and a lucid assuming of responsibilities the Romanian officials preferred to look for a scapegoat and blame the existence of destabilizing forces in the opposition.

During their talks in Washington the PAC representatives showed that early general elections were the only way to surmount difficulties, conducive to the formation of a credible Parliament apt to reflect the real options of the Romanian people. The promises of stability and prosperity of the present rulers were not fulfilled. The recurrence of violent incidents, the difficult economic and social situation, the political crisis are a proof that cannot be denied. Under these circumstances, Romania's isolation offers no chance. An international support, both moral and material, is imperiously necessary. The country needs a responsible leadership, not one divided by cynical fights for power, the PAC leader also said.

Daily Says Roman Will Govern 'By Proxy'

AU0710173191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1500 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—Considering that, "beyond all speculations and stagings, it was unavoidable that Roman's government fall," the daily "COTIDIANUL" opines that "Petre Roman was the first to have sabotaged his own reform." To offer arguments in support of this idea, the daily divides Roman's governing into periods. The first period—since the December 1989 revolution up to June 28, 1990—is characterized by "having been uniquely used (by the National Salvation Front) for ascending to power by all means," by promoting "anti-reform populist measures and by using violence against opponents." The second period—June 28-September 26, 1991—"wants to be considered a period of reform." The daily "COTIDIANUL" opines that it was a failure because of ambiguous laws, lacking in firmness, of political instability and lack of foreign investments, as well as because of the seeking of occult causes for the failure. The fact that in his 18 October 1991 report in front of Parliament, Premier Roman spoke about "an economic disaster" is "a self-demise and recognition of incompetence," after almost ten months of governing. The third period starts with the resignation of Petre Roman's cabinet, and is, therefore a "by proxy" governing, writes "COTIDIANUL." Ruling out the variant of a coup of conservative forces, as it was not these forces that ascended to power following the acception of the resignation of Roman's cabinet, the comments in "COTIDIANUL" opt for the alternative that the resigned premier "chose to seem withdrawn, a victim of obscure forces, and make up a strategy to relaunch the National Salvation Front, a few months before the elections." The choice of the prime minister designated to follow Petre Roman expresses, in the opinion of "COTIDIANUL," the continuity of Roman's line. The main argument of the fact that the National Salvation Front did not give up power is that it considers that the ministries ensuring the maintenance of the levers of power—defence, justice, the interior—cannot make the object of negotiations.

Senate Adopts Intelligence Service Bill

AU0710203291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—With 68 votes for, 11 against and nine abstentions, the Senate adopted today the bill on the organisation and functioning of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] which was introduced on 18 September.

Differences were aired between parliamentary groups and inside them as well.

More specifically, Paragraphs Two and Three of Article 48 showing that the documents, data and information of the Romanian Intelligence Service may be made public after ninety years, and that the Romanian Intelligence Service may take over the archives of the former intelligence bodies sparked a heated legal dispute that acquired political overtones.

After lengthy discussions, senators agreed that the SRI documents could be made public after sixty years from their archival registration and re-worded the paragraph on the SRI rights to "use" the archives of the former intelligence bodies.

With that, the meeting passed on to the next item of the agenda—the local administration bill which has 125 articles.

Bank Governor on Resumption of Currency Auctions

AU0710203591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—Beginning on 7 October the National Bank of Romania no longer holds daily inter-bank currency auctions, which become the prerogative of commercial banks through the Romanian Association of Banks, the governor of the National Bank of Romania Mugur Isarescu announced on 7 October when auctions resumed after a week-long suspension.

In the new formula, currency auctions are held and rates are fixed by the Romanian Association of Banks which must abide by the currency market rules set by the Central Bank.

The chief of the National Bank of Romania will attend the meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in Bangkok later this week. "I will outline the present state of the reform programme, and convey a political message from Premier Theodor Stolojan on how we intend to continue on the path of reform and on its social implications that may bring disastrous effects if they are neglected," Mr. Isarescu told a news conference on 7 October.

'Soaring' Foodstuff, Other Prices Examined

AU0710152391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1351 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/10/1991—Romania's prices have been soaring starting November 1990. Foodstuff prices increased by 61.3 percents in a first phase and non-edibles prices by 113.5 percent. Tariffs for services grew to a lesser extent over the same period, as this sector continued to be partially financed by the state. House rents, power, gas and central heating tariffs and monthly town traffic tickets remained unchanged as against October 1990. The first phase of the price liberalisation brought a 80.4 total increase of consumer goods prices and a 51.5 percent growing of service tarrifs.

In the second phase of liberalisation, over April-August 1991, consumer goods prices increased by 65 percent, as follows : foodstuffs, 104.6 percent; non-edibles, 46.7 percent; and service tariffs, 41 percent. The evolution of prices over the past twelve months has also by foreign trade, i. e. import and export activities. [sentence as received]

Economy Minister on Prices

AU0710181991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Dijmarescu About Prices and Financial Deblocking"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—The pledge the government has assumed is that the price of bread, energy, a number of items for children, milk, edible oil, sugar, including subsidised meat, transportation subscriptions, rents remain unchanged at least until April 1, 1992. Increases on a local plane are illegal. A wide-scope drive to financially deblock public corporations and commercial companies was initiated on October 1 priority being given to agriculture, basic industries (energy, mining). In less than a week 20-25 per cent of the total blocked funds in the economy were covered. These are the main ideas of the interview Minister Eugen Dijmarescu granted to the press on October 7.

As for the rumours and articles in the press in connection with a rise in the price of basic products Mr. Dijmarescu assessed they were incoherent and unreal. He stressed that the government's pledge was to keep those prices unchanged at least until the end of the 12-month period—which is to end on April 1, 1992—with the possibility of extending the aforementioned period until July 1, 1992.

Asked about the state of financial deblocking of economic agents, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu stressed that starting October 1 a drive to financially deblock public corporations and commercial companies began on a priority basis. Agriculture, key industries (energy, mining) are to be followed by iron and steel, electricity and a number of large units with many suppliers and numerous beneficiaries so that as many units as possible be deblocked as soon as possible. Among priorities are exports given the need for hard currency resources for the imports of energy over this period.

Asked about his future activity Mr. Dijmarescu said he wanted to contribute to the recovery of the Romanian economy and to the implementation of the reform pursuing a sound market economy in Romania.

Industry Minister on Oil Purchase From Iran

AU0710112191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—Romania is willing to purchase from Iran 500,000 tons of diesel oil and 1.5 million tons of crude over the previously agreed quantities. The Romanian minister of industry, Victor Stanculescu, who is now at the 17th International Trade Fair in Tehran, made this offer to the head of Iran's Organization for Planning and Budget, Mas'ud Rowghani-Zanjani. During an interview with the Iranian minister of heavy industry, Minister Stanculescu examined the possibility that Romania should buy buses made in Iran and expressed the readiness of the Romanian Government to join in the building of a gas duct to connect Iran to Europe, via Turkey, and in purchasing an annual quota of 12 million cu.m. of gas from Iran, once the duct is operational. An agreement was reached to this effect during the interview with Iran's minister of petroleum industry, Gholam Reza Aqazdeh-Kho'I. The Romanian side

expressed its hope that, with the aid of the Romanian-Iranian joint economic cooperation commission, the delivery to Iran would be settled for the tractors and other farm machinery Iran contracted with Romania.

Statistics on Emigration, Immigration Reported

AU0710112691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0928 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/10/1991—A 1990 statistics shows that 129,714 Romanian citizens applied for approval to settle abroad, of whom 95,671 were of German nationality, stated Colonel Samoila Joarza, head of the passport department, in an interview for the daily ADEVARUL. Of the whole number, 43,608 were skilled workers, 34,861 unqualified workers, 28,513 retirees and housewives, 16,646 were high-school graduates and only 6,086 (under 5 per cent) higher education institution graduates.

By 1 September 1991, emigration approval has been granted to 24,536 applicants, of whom 11,765 opted for Germany, 4,545 for the United States, 1,164 for Italy, 1,107 for Canada etc. The socio-professional proportions are much the same as last year, high education graduates included, their number this year amounting to only 1,431.

Age groups are represented as follows: 11,632 are children and youths below 18 who followed their parents, 6,517 are aged 18-40, 3,205 are aged between 41 and 60, while 3,182 are over 60.

Immigration figures indicate that, by 1 September, 1991, 2,117 persons have settled in Romania. Of these 12 per cent are high education graduates, 10 per cent secondary school graduates and 479 skilled workers. 316 of the returnees come from Germany, 263 from the United States, 189 from France.

Entry to Romania was denied to 4,058 foreigners. Most of them could not produce evidence of adequate means of support during their stay in Romania (2,664), 38 of them were rejected for breaches of the law during previous stays in Romania, 93 were found trying to disregard customs regulations, while 350 produced forged passports, most of them being Indians, Pakistanis, Iraqis, Iranians, Somalis, Albanians, Nigerians.

Federal

Presidency Considers UN Talks, Bosnia Security

LD0710174291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—An SFRY Presidency session has started in Belgrade's Palace of the Federation, the SFRY Presidency's Information Service revealed.

SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic is chairing the session, attended by the following Presidency members: Borisav Jovic, Sejdo Bajramovic, and Jugoslav Kostic.

SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic; Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic and Admiral Stane Brovet, his deputy; Federal Internal Affairs Secretary Petar Gracanin; and Deputy Federal Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic are also attending the session.

The SFRY Presidency information service says that the Presidency, as announced, will consider a report about the course and content of the United Nations and The Hague talks on Yugoslavia at today's session.

The session, which is being held behind closed doors in accordance with the regular Presidency practice, will also discuss a report about flashpoints of crisis in the country and measures to be undertaken to avert the escalation of conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro.

Issues Statement on Cease-Fire

LD0710223491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— The following statement has been published for the public from today's session of the SFRY Presidency:

The SFRY Presidency today held a session in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Vice President Branko Kostic. It was attended by the president of the SFRY Assembly, the federal secretary for national defense and his deputy, the federal secretary for internal affairs, and the deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs. The session considered the current situation in the hotbeds of crisis in the country. In this connection the reports on the discussion on Yugoslavia in the United Nations and at the conference in The Hague, as well as the contents of the declaration adopted by the foreign ministers of the EC on 6 October, were also reviewed.

The SFRY Presidency takes the view that, unfortunately, the Republic of Croatia is not implementing the agreement concluded in The Hague on 4 October on unconditionally lifting the blockade of the army barracks and of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units deployed in this republic. The SFRY Presidency was informed that on 6 October the foreign ministers of the EC again considered this situation and proposed certain initiatives to implement the above agreement.

Bearing this in mind, the SFRY Presidency has thoroughly considered all the possibilities for a peaceful way out of the crisis, and decided that it is necessary to make additional efforts to achieve this. However, since the Croatian leadership has thwarted all attempts to find a peaceful solution to these problems, the SFRY Presidency has decided to seek explicit assurances from the EC on any new agreement.

At today's session, the Presidency made a decision aimed at carrying out the agreement reached at The Hague on lifting the blockade of YPA barracks and implementing the cease-fire in Croatia. The SFRY Presidency has made the implementation of this decision conditional on receiving assurances from the EC that the Republic of Croatia will strictly abide by its obligations under the 4 October agreement reached at The Hague. The SFRY Presidency concluded that if these assurances were not secured, the YPA would be dutybound to continue with the operationes that have been embarked upon with the aim of lifting the blockade on its garrisons.

In connection with rumors about an alleged YPA threat to Dubrovnik, the SFRY Presidency is informing the public that the YPA is under strict orders, which it is heeding, not to attack Dubrovnik, and the YPA has not attacked Dubrovnik. At the same time, the Presidency is calling on foreign observers to see who is really threatening this city.

In connection with the 6 October EC foreign ministers declaration on Yugoslavia and on the basis of Article 316 of the SFRY Constitution and Article 6 of the law on all people's defense, and in line with its orientation to find political solutions to the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful manner, after its session held today in Belgrade, the SFRY Presidency announces that it has made the following decision:

1. The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] will secure a total cease-fire starting from 2400 [2300 GMT] on 7 October 1991, on condition that the EC guarantees:

— that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia will simultaneously observe the cease-fire;

— that by 2400 on 8 October 1991 the Republic of Croatia will lift the blockade from all YPA garrisons and facilities on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, as envisaged by the agreement reached at The Hague. EC observers will supervise the implementation of this task;

— that conditions are created for the relocation of the surrounded garrisons in the Republic of Croatia by 2400 on 8 October, also under the supervision of the EC observers.

2. If obligations undertaken by the Republic of Croatia are not implemented by 2400 on 8 October 1991, the

YPA will continue the operations it has embarked upon for the liberation of its garrisons in the Republic of Croatia.

3. This decision will be published in the public information media.
The SFRY Presidency
Vice President Branko Kostic

Markovic Statement on Missile Attack on Banksi Dvori

Accuses Kadijevic of 'Attempted Murder'

LD0710183591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—At about 1800 [1700 GMT], Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, who is in Zagreb, telephoned his office in Belgrade and stated the following:

"Today, while at a meeting with SFRY Presidency President Stjepan Mesic and Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, at Banski Dvori for talks on The Hague conference on Yugoslavia and the extension of the moratorium, the room in which we were meeting was hit with a missile from a Yugoslav Air Force jet. It is a miracle that we survived. I blame Army Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, for this attempted murder. Therefore, I will not return to Belgrade until Gen. Kadijevic is replaced in that post," a statement handed to TANJUG by the FEC Information Secretariat says.

Calls For Kadijevic's Replacement

LD0810013191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2358 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—During the current affairs program on Yutel TV tonight Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic described the events in Banski Dvori in Zagreb today as follows:

I took advantage of the fact that I became a grandfather to come, at any cost and regardless of the situation in Zagreb, to see my daughter and my grandson.

I took the opportunity while in Zagreb to see Croatian President Tudjman to discuss with him the extension of the peace conference and the extension of the moratorium beyond 8 October so that the peace conference can end successfully.

First just the two of us spoke, and afterwards together with Mesic. We were in fact given assurances that it would be in the interest of Croatia, and in the interest of other parts of Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, for the peace conference to be continued and a solution found which will be in the interest of everyone individually and of all collectively.

We were just ending our conversation and were to take leave when there was a an almighty bang. A hole appeared in the ceiling of the room in which we had been talking.

Not only glass, but the doors and other things as well started to roll down.

Obviously, and this was accurately established afterwards, this was a missile attack by two aircraft which had fired rockets on the Banski Dvori building in which we had our talks, obviously intending not only to destroy the building, but to finish off the people in it.

Quite incredibly, said Ante Markovic, we remained alive and I and the other people I had spoken to managed to find our way out through the smoke, dust, debris, and all the rest.

It is difficult to evoke memories of it all now, Prime Minister Markovic went on, but I must say that was a criminal and gangster attack by a military unit that in fact attempted to liquidate one person, but purely by accident it could have been three.

Please, I ask you, what is there to comment on?—asked Prime Minister Markovic after being reminded of the statement by the Federal Secretariat of National Defense.

The fact is that two aircraft launched a missile attack on a building in which we were and that exactly two rockets hit this building, a third one hit something else—Tuskanac.

Accodingly, it could be said, Ante Markovic went on, that they knew perfectly well and that they had been well trained and that they had targeted well. It was a first class hit.

You know, you cannot find any justification for this. It is what I have been denouncing—no reprisals, no thought of any reprisal, you see, this has been a reprisal, said Markovic.

Of course, I do not agree with the blockade of the barracks, I have expressed my views on this, but what is happening is really a crime.

Yes, I am still in Zagreb, Prime Minister Ante Markovic confirmed.

Are you still the federal prime minister, the Yutel journalist asked him.

Why should I as a result of this attack on me be in a situation where I should cease to be what I am, replied the prime mimister.

The general who is the federal secretary of national defense who tried to kill, among others his prime minister, must be replaced. He has to be replaced, stressed Ante Markovic.

I still have all the contacts with Europe and America, said the FEC president. I will continue to have them and I am working for the continuation of the talks in The Hague, for the continuation of the talks concerning a peace conference. I expect it to end positively regardless of the fact that this sort of attack is trying, in fact, to make it impossible.

The conference can end positively for all the nations and nationalities in our country because it can in fact bring about the result whereby they become sovereign countries through a package deal and have their future resolved within a community which could meet the economic and legal interests of all those who until now have lived in an association which could as such become an association in Europe, said Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic in the Yutel broadcast.

Defense Secretariat Denies Sanctioning Zagreb Bombing

AU0710200291 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] We have just received following announcement.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense Information Service is authorized to announce the following:

On the subject of the news announced by various media sources that today, allegedly, Banski Dvori in Zagreb was bombed, we are informing the public that no unit of the Yugoslav People's Army was given the mission to take action against Zagreb.

The units that have been blockaded for a prolonged time and that were attacked again today acted in self-defense. The possibility that one of the units took action in the city is not excluded. The checks that we have made so far do not confirm this possibility, but one should not exclude the possibility that Croatian leaders have simulated this attack, as they have done on countless previous occasions. The truth can be confirmed only at the scene itself.

Air Force Command Denies Bombing

LD0710204691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— The Air Force and Anti-aircraft Defense Command Information Service issued the following statement this evening:

In connection with reports broadcast by domestic and foreign media this afternoon on an alleged air attack on Banski Dvori, the official residence of the president of the Republic of Croatia, the information service of the Air Force and Anti-aircraft Command is authorized to state the following:

In today's precisely planned, ordered, and executed combat activities of air units on Croatian territory, where many Yugoslav People's Army units and facilities are still under blockade and being attacked by Ustasha formations, not a single crew of the Air Force combat units was ordered to bomb or in any other way attack the aforementioned building in Zagreb center.

The Air Force and Anti-aircraft Defense Command does not exclude the possibility that, bearing in mind the situation in the country, a pilot could have done it. It is certain that results of a possible Air Force action would be much more convincing than what was said in public by the Croatian leadership and the Federal Executive Council president. Following reports about these activities over Zagreb, talks were held with all crews which were in action today and no crew claimed responsibility for what happened.

All this leads to the conclusion that this could be yet another well-thought out provocation on the part of the Croatian leadership against the Yugoslav People's Army leadership and members, the statement concludes.

National Guard Denies Aircraft Used

LD0710220991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Pula, October 7 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Croatian national guard units in the Croatian region of Istria Branko Bosnjak said today he had received assurances from commander of the Pula airfield Lieutenant Colonel Marijan Vrtovic that no aircraft from the airfield were involved in combat actions over Croatia and that he would resign if he received orders to that effect.

Bosnjak told TANJUG he had also received assurances from Vrtovic that the flights of aircraft from the Pula airfield lately were training flights. He added that all flights except those approved by the competent Croatian ministry would be halted from this afternoon.

Bosnjak's talks with the Pula airfield representatives, which were also attended by one of the four European observers in the area, Heinrich Haupt from Germany, took place in connection with reports that aircraft from the Pula airfield had bombed Zagreb, the bridge connecting the Adriatic island of Pag with the mainland and other targets in Croatia.

There is no statement yet from the military authorities on the Air Force activities over Croatia and Zagreb.

Kostic: YPA Determined To Free Troops in Croatia

LD0710141291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, 7 Oct (tANJUG)—Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said today that the Yugoslav People's Army's [YPA] objective is not to invade either Croatian territory or cities, but to free its units and facilities. Taking part in a debate today at a session of the Montenegro Assembly, Kostic stated that

at this moment "in Croatia there are about 25,000 soldiers, civilians working for the YPA, and members of officers' families who for over two months have been living under a blockade. We are determined to use force to free them. This is no longer a military but rather a moral issue," Kostic stressed. Kostic stated that the SFRY Presidency, in its capacity as supreme commander, would halt any further movements of YPA units and secure a cease-fire only when Croatian armed forces lift the blockade of the Army barracks.

Appeals To Croats to Preserve Dubrovnik

LD0710144991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Titogtad, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent an appeal to the Croatian leadership and to the citizens of Dubrovnik to preserve this world renowned city from destruction. Talking at today's session of the Montenegrin Assembly, Kostic said:

"Since Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units are approaching Dubrovnik and since this rare gem of the world's cultural heritage is already in jeopardy, I am calling on the citizens of Dubrovnik and of its environs, as well as on the Croatian leadership and the international public to invest efforts in preserving it. YPA members, who are mostly from Montenegro, will look after Dubrovnik the way they would look after Kotor or Cetinje. Several thousand of Tudjman's soldiers, who are not interested in Dubrovnik, are, however, concentrated in the old town with the intent of abusing this historical city and, according to some information, they are prepared to mine some precious buildings in Dubrovnik in order to accuse the army of destroying the city, Kostic said.

"The Croatian leadership is best placed to preserve Dubrovnik, Kostic claims, and if it is not prepared to do so, then the citizens of Dubrovnik can preserve it. I call on the European Community and on other interested parties to urgently send their observers to the spot for where they will tell the world the truth, if the tragic destruction of the town occurs," Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said.

International

Gorbachev Message to Presidency Urges Cease-Fire

LD0710183491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1415 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 7 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union appealed on the Yugoslav leadership and the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) for an immediate end of military activities and the unconditional and full respect of the ceasefire agreement.

The message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was received last night by Yugoslav Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic.

The Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Vadim Loginov, immediately afterwards informed the Presidency of Yugoslavia, as well and the Yugoslav foreign and defence ministries, that the Soviet consul general in Zagreb had been instructed to deliver the message from Moscow to the president and the leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The message gives the official Soviet interpretation that the "full and unconditional ceasefire, of course, implies the lifting of the blockade on JNA garrisons on the territory of Croatia and the establishing of normal living conditions for army personnel and their families."

The message further expresses the hope that this would soon be achieved so that "the path would be opened for truce and (?peace) negotations."

Croatian Foreign Minister, Kohl Discuss Peace Efforts

LD0710222191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1946 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Bonn, Oct 7 (TANJUG)—The foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Zvonimir Separovic, said after his talks with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl today that international recognition of Croatia was imminent and, "in case of a bombing of Zagreb, it might happen immediately."

Spokesman for the Bonn government Dieter Vogel said that Kohl and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had, in their talks with Separovic today, expressed their determination to "do everything for the peace conference on Yugoslavia to be brought to a successful conclusion, despite the continued fighting in Yugoslavia."

Vogel stressed that "Germany would not walk alone into recognition of Slovenia or Croatia," but that Bonn would endeavour to win majority support in the European Community "for its well-known position."

Karl Lamers, the president of the parliamentary group of Helmut Kohl's ruling Christian Union, today welcomed the "ultimatum linking a ceasefire in Yugoslavia to E.C.'s trade and economic sanctions."

Ambassador to CSFR Praises, EC, UN Arms Embargo

AU0710142391 Prague CSTK in English 2033 GMT 3 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 3 (CSTK)— Previous cease fires in Yugoslavia have been violated with the aim of gaining international recognition for Slovene and Croatian independence, and enabling them to request foreign military

intervention, Yugoslavia's ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Stanislav Stojanovic, said today.

But any such intervention would be absolutely unacceptable, he told a press conference.

Stojanovic said some countries have illegally exported weapons to Yugoslavia with the knowledge of their governments, describing it as unfortunate. He praised the recent decisions of the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United Nations Security Council to embargo arms sales to Yugoslavia, and said he would welcome a similar move from the Czechoslovak Government.

But the decision was taken too late, he said, as "there are now so many weapons stockpiled in Yugoslavia, it would be a true miracle if they were not used."

Stojanovic described the civil war in his country as an explosion of nationalism intended to break apart the Yugoslav state regardless of what kind of regime it has.

He rejected as completely unsubstantiated claims that the crisis is essentially a conflict between "communism, Bolshevism, and a totalitarian system" in some parts of the country and democracy in others.

Neither the Yugoslav leadership nor the Federal Army questions the right of each nation to self-determination and secession, Stojanovic said. But they have insisted and continue to insist that independence take place through democratic political agreements, in a legal, constitutional, and peaceful manner.

He described the Federal Army's role in the crisis as one of trying to prevent an intensification of the settling of accounts between the opposing sides by keeping them apart.

If the Army were to withdraw from Croatia, Stojanovic said, the war between the Serbs and the Croats would become even worse. The conflict would carry over into the other republics, and the country would be plunged into a hopeless, all-out civil war.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 October on page 2 carries a 300-word "pv"-signed report on Stojanovic's briefing. According to the report, Stojanovic criticized Czechoslovak media for not reporting on atrocities committed by Croatian troops, such as a recent "massacre" of 13 Yugoslav Army conscripts near Karlovac, whose "noses and ears were cut off, bellies slit open, and eyes cut out."]

Slovenia

Full Republic Assembly Meets in Closed Session

LD0710175391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— All three chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia met this afternoon behind closed doors. The deputies are discussing further steps in the process leading to the final independence of Slovenia. It is assumed that the main topics at today's session are conditions for the final army withdrawal from Slovenia, which is due to be completed by 18 October. It is also assumed that they will consider changes to the republic's monetary system.

It is expected that a statement for the public will be issued from the session today or tomorrow morning.

Army 'Must Withdraw' by 18 Oct

LD0710234491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Proceeding from the assessment of the republican parliament, the Presidency of Slovenia today decided that the members of the Yugoslav Army must withdraw from the territory of Slovenia by 18 October at the latest.

As announced tonight, the Presidency noted that new circumstances have appeared since the adoption of the SFRY Presidency decision on the withdrawal of the Army from Slovenia, especially "by intensifying aggression" against Croatia during the period of the moratorium. The Slovenian Presidency will therefore propose to the headquarters of the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces to discuss the manner of withdrawal of the members of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia. Slovenia will inform the EC and the peace conference in The Hague about this proposal.

With reference to the proposals that the remaining equipment and members of the Yugoslav Army are withdrawn from Slovenia over the territory of Italy and Hungary, the Presidency noted that Slovenia has not received any official proposals in this respect from either the Army or the European Twelve.

It was therefore decided that the competent republican ministry should send a note to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the EC President, Hans van den Broek. Slovenia will thus express its dissatisfaction and disagreement with the attempt to be bypassed as "a signatory of the Brioni declaration" and "a sovereign state". Slovenia does not wish to take part in any activity that would benefit the aggression and hinder the cessation of hostilities on the territory of Croatia.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will also convey Slovenia's dissatisfaction to Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague conference, the announcement states.

New Currency Called 'Tolar'

AU0810100791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] At the Republic of Slovenia Assembly extraordinary session last night deputies discussed several very urgent measures concerning independence. Shortly after midnight they decided by vote that the new Slovene

money is going to be called the tolar. The Socio-Political Chamber and the Chamber of the Associated Labor decided in favor of that name.

At the proposal and insistence of Vitomir Gros, the Chamber of Communes had adopted the name the lipa. After a long process of coordination in the Chamber commission, somewhat before midnight the commission decided in favor of a compromise proposal of the (?karant). The Socio-Political Chamber and the Chamber of the Associated Labor rejected that name and insisted on the tolar. The Chamber of Communes adopted the name the (?karant) and gave up the previous name the lipa.

At about 30 minutes past midnight [2330 GMT 8 October], the Chamber of Communes was asked to reconsider the matter once again. The deputies of that chamber then gave in and the new Slovene money was given the name of the tolar.

All three chambers decided that the law on the name and use of the Slovene money should come into force on 8 October [as heard] at one minute after midnight. [Word indistinct] exchange rate between the dinar and bond [bon—Slovenia plans to issue bonds to replace the dinar between now and when the new currency is minted], 1:1, should be valid in the coming seven days. After this deadline expires, the exchange rate will be decided by the Council of the Bank of Slovenia.

Border Checkpoints Open Between Croatia, Slovenia

LD0710160991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— All main border checkpoints on the Slovene-Croatian border are open. According to the Slovene Ministry for Internal Affairs there are no problems with traffic. Several smaller, unimportant border crossings are closed, the Slovene Ministry for Internal Affairs says. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Sees 'Selective Steps' Toward Autonomy

LD0710211291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— After the expiry of the Brioni moratorium, Slovenia is today where it was on 25 June this year, when it proclaimed its autonomy and independence, but not, I hope, in the military respect. This was stated by Dimitrij Rupel, foreign minister of Slovenia, at a news conference which the Slovenian Ministry of Information is organizing for foreign and domestic journalists every day from today in the Cankar Hall.

Rupel pointed out that Slovenia will undertake selective steps toward autonomy and that serious and hard times are expected in its foreign policy. In the context of intensified foreign political activities, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of Slovenia, and Dimitrij Rupel are going to Germany tomorrow where they will be received by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Rupel said that the Slovenian representatives who at present still work in the Yugoslav diplomatic service will also shortly regulate their status in agreement with Slovenia.

Within the framework of The Hague peace conference, we will propose that the mandate of the EC observers mission in Slovenia need not be extended, Rupel said. He added that Slovenia is also prepared to accept a solution which might mean the conclusion of an agreement between Slovenia and the EC according to which the mission could carry out certain work.

Rupel then explained to journalists in detail the agreements between the Yugoslav General Staff, Italy, and the EC regarding the withdrawal of the remainder of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] from Slovenia through Trieste. Yesterday, Rupel said, we were informed by the Hungarian consul that the General Staff also asked them for such a favor. Hungary wants to know what our position on this is.

Today we informed the Hungarian Consulate, Rupel declared, that we appreciate Hungary's stand and desire to know our views. We consider the withdrawal of the army through Hungary to be a very delicate question, and especially within the context of UN resolution 713. We also informed the Hungarian consul that Slovenia thinks the Republic of Croatia should also be consulted on this. However, Rupel said, we told the Hungarian Consulate that Slovenia has no wish to obstruct the YPA's departure and that we do not want to give it any excuse whatsoever for not leaving Slovenia.

Today we will also send a letter to the Italian Government expressing our surprise that, as a neighboring country, it did not ask for our stand on this as well. At the same time, we will explain our opinion, Rupel said.

In a peace initiative which we sent today to Lord Carrington we proposed to examine, together with Croatia and Italy, the question of the conditions and standard of living of the Italian minority. At the same time, Rupel said, we proposed to Lord Carrington that the EC should introduce an oil embargo for those parties in Yugoslavia which are acting in an aggressive manner. Slovenia wishes constructively to participate in the peace conference in The Hague and our proposals must be understood within this context.

Answering journalists' questions, Minister of Information Jelko Kacin said that any YPA movements on the territory of Slovenia are subject to agreements between Slovenia and the YPA. There have been no such contacts recently and the YPA has been avoiding them, he stated.

Ministers Comment on Army Withdrawal, Passports

AU0710174291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Correspondent Alenka Terlep reports on a news conference given by Republican Information Minister Jelko Kacin, and Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel in Cankar Hall, Ljubljana on 7 Oct—recorded]

[Terlep] We are exactly where we were on 26 June, and now we will fully realize the aims that we set for ourselves, Dimitrij Rupel said at the beginning of the news conference. He added that the conference in The Hague will take place next week. This will be the session of the three commissions—the economic commission, the commission for relations within Yugoslavia, and the commission for minorities. In all three commissions, we Slovenes will have our own team. Besides, we have also drawn up a peace initiative that we will put forward that concerns the rights of the Italian minority, the economic sanctions, and the oil embargo, the Slovene foreign minister said.

We will not extend the mandate of the EC observers, but we will try to reach a sort of agreement with them. Many questions related to the Army's withdrawal from Slovenia and to the latest government decision that the soldiers will withdraw from Koper while the equipment will stay here as long as the war in Croatia is continuing. Minister Kacin said:

[Kacin] The government's position represents the opening stance for an agreement with the opposite side, that is to say, with the Yugoslav Army. What the content of the actual arrangement will be and when and in what way it will be realized are a matter for agreement, not only between the two partners [Slovene authorities and the Army], but—if we talk about the possible withdrawal across the borders, that is to say, through the territories of neighboring countries— also a matter for agreement with these countries. In short, this is a demanding technical task and a sensitive political issue, and our Government has merely formed the opening stance for our future agreements that will resolve the current state of affairs. [end recording]

[Terlep] Therefore, no conclusion about the manner of withdrawal has been adopted. This will be reached through an agreement with the Army.

As regards the consular missions, that is, what missions will Slovenes contact abroad, Dimitrij Rupel said that they will still be contacting the Yugoslav missions and to some degree also the missions of the three Baltic countries, which have recognized us.

Regarding passports, he said the following:

[Rupel] We decided to act as pragmatically as possible. This means that Slovene citizens will enjoy the blessings—if I can say so—of the former Yugoslavia and of the independent Slovenia at the same time. This means that if they possess valid red passports [Rupel is referring to the SFRY passport], they will travel in the same way as they did before. At the same time, they will have to opportunity to present themselves as the bearers of Slovene passports in the three countries that have recognized us—which are Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. As I have already said in the assembly, at least two neighboring countries will accept Slovene passports as valid documents with which it will be possible to travel within those two countries without any problems.

Regarding the military industry, which is well represented in Slovenia, Jelko Kacin gave the assurance that Slovenia is not manufacturing anything that could be used in the fighting in Yugoslavia. He added that the Government is searching for solutions that will allow the restructuring of this branch of industry.

Kucan Doubts Rapid Settlement of Conflict Possible

PM0710151491 Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Oct 91 p 3

[Alain Debove and Yves Heller report on interview with President Milan Kucan: "There Is an Aggressor and a Victim"]

[Text] Slovene President Milan Kucan made a visit to Paris on Wednesday 2 and Thursday 3 October where he had talks with President Francois Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. In an interview which he granted to us, Mr. Kucan, whose republic will continue its process of secession from Yugoslavia from 7 October, states notably that in the present war Serbia and Croatia cannot be equated since the latter is the "victim" of an aggression.

In view of the fact that Slovenia declared its independence back on 25 June, it will merely "continue" that process on 7 October by carrying out specific actions—the foundation of a national bank, the introduction of a new commercial system, and, initially, a customs union with the other Yugoslav republics, the establishment of diplomatic missions in the world, the immediate creation of a "transitional" currency aimed at protecting the Slovenian economy from the three-figure "hyperinflation" suffered by the rest of Yugoslavia. In the six months which follow it plans to create a "real currency" whose value will be calculated according to the European Currency Unit. All these measures would probably already have been adopted if on 7 July the Twelve had not asked Slovenia and Croatia to "suspend" the effects of its declaration of independence for three months. It was hoped that this delay would make it possible to prevent an escalation in the Yugoslav conflict.

There will be no special vote or official celebration to mark 7 October. The Slovenes are not expecting a rapid diplomatic recognition of their independence by the internatinal community. So far only the Baltic states have given that recognition. As for the EEC, Slovenian

President Milan Kucan stressed that it should give a "collective" recognition, for which some states, like France, are working.

The Slovenes would probably have preferred to celebrate the 7 October without the presence of the last remaining federal forces deployed on their territory. "Unfortunately," President Milan Kucan said, "there are still some 3,000 federal troops, but not combat troops. These are units which are essentially responsible for logistics, for transferring equipment to other republics—an operation rendered difficult by communication problems caused by the war in neighboring Croatia. The military have pledged to withdraw from Slovenia before 18 October and I think that that agreement will be honored." The federal troops suffered a resounding defeat in July in the two weeks of fighting which followed the declaration of independence. Before the outbreak of hostilities with the Slovenian territorial defense forces, the Yugoslav army had 22,000 men in Slovenia. During the fighting, Mr. Kucan said, the numbers fell to 6,000 men.... The military are now asking questions, Mr. Kucan said, citing the case of high-ranking military doctors in Belgrade punished for protesting the war in Croatia.

A "Discriminatory" Embargo

This army, which was a federal army and a people's army, "is ending its career with a dirty war in which the officers are to some extent fighting for their survival." According to the Slovenian leaders, it is now merely an army which supports Serbia's ideas against those of an "aggressor"—against Croatia. This war is not a "civil or interethnic war, it is a war of conquest, a war between two nations and two states. Serbia wants to annex Croatian territory on the pretext of the presence of a Serbian minority in Croatia whereas it is refusing autonomy to the Hungarians in Vojvodina and the Albanians in Kosovo." "This is an unjustifiable war; the two sides cannot be equated, there is an aggressor and a victim, and the former must be made to realize that he cannot be rewarded." In this connection, Mr. Kucan deplored the "discriminatory" aspect of the embargo imposed by the United Nations and the Twelve on all arms supplies to Yugoslavia: "The army has its own armaments and most of the military industry is in Serbia, so that the military can obtain fresh supplies whereas Croatia cannot."

"Slovenia," Mr. Kucan explained, "has been the country which has helped Croatia most, to the best of its ability, supplying it with weapons, medicines, food, and giving shelter to thousands of refugees." The tiny independent republic (1.6 million inhabitants) does not intend to go any further and intervene directly in the fighting, even if the situation deteriorates. It will continue to give Zagreb diplomatic support, and that is one of the reasons why it will continue to sit on the peace conference in The Hague. Slovenia—the richest of the six republics—will also stay there to protect its interests in the context of the dismantling of Yugoslavia, and Ljubljana wants its share of the legacy: "We are prepared to fulfil our obligations but also to take what belongs to us."

Milan Kucan is not really optimistic about the chances of a rapid settlement of the conflict and he thinks that the Twelve could envisage "selective" aid to Yugoslavia instead of suspending it completely, as they have done. By that he means support to some "democratic" republics, which would amount to "indirectly" pointing the finger at the aggressor "by a process of elimination."

Kucan Comments on Federation's Demise, Breakup Options

PM0810073091 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with President Milan Kucan by Laure Mandeville in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Mandeville] You have had a meeting with President Mitterrand. What did you say to him?

[Kucan] Slovenia's future depends on the relations it is able to develop with the 12 EEC countries. I have therefore come to explain to President Mitterrand the "Slovenian truth" about the situation in Yugoslavia.

[Mandeville] What is the Slovenian truth?

[Kucan] The main point is that Yugoslavia is an artificial entity and that it has proved incapable of tackling the problems which have arisen in recent years. It has failed to replace the ideological basis on which it was constructed by a European-style economic integration. The Yugoslav federation has not been able to give the nations which wanted to leave it the chance of achieving their independence in a civilized way.

[Mandeville] Why is the separation now taking place with bloodshed? Are we witnessing a real interethnic war between Serbs and Croats or a more complex conflict?

[Kucan] It is something quite different! The Western countries must understand that Yugoslavia no longer exists. As the conflict is taking place under the mantle of the former Yugoslav state, the West does not see that it is not a civil war, but a conflict between two states, between two nations, a war of conquest carried out on Croatia's historical territory.

To solve the problem, it is not a matter of eliminating the cause of the war, but of finding a solution for the Serbs in Croatia.

[Mandeville] Is the problem of the Serbs not a pretext for Serbia?

[Kucan] Yes, partly because Serbia now has territorial aspirations, the desire to build Greater Serbia by conquering territory which has never previously belonged to it. Serbia has always had the aim of creating a federation of southern Slavs which would serve Serbian interests.

That was when it was not dreaming of forming a greater Serbia grouping the Serbs within one country.

This principle is unacceptable. After reunification, did not the Germans launch into the creation of a single state for all Germans?

[Mandeville] Is there hope of seeing the Serbian leadership abandon its plans while it is dominated by Slobodan Milosevic? Is there any other possibility?

[Kucan] With Milosevic's current policy, the problem cannot be solved. He represents a nondemocratic communist Serbia. Democrats exist but, unfortunately, they are not organized.

[Mandeville] Is the federal army under Serbian control?

[Kucan] The federal army no longer exists. It has merged with the Serbian army, but has the strength of all the armaments of the Yugoslav forces. These forces are the most powerful in the whole of central and southeast Europe. From the start of the crisis, the generals ignored the orders of the Yugoslav collegial presidency. They are acting in accordance with Milosevic, but they are defending their own existence.

[Mandeville] Will Europe recognize Slovenian independence before an overall solution is found?

[Kucan] Yes, I think so. An independent Slovenia would be a very favorable factor for the later recognition of Croatian independence and the peaceful settlement of the crisis.

[Mandeville] What is the most likely scenario? A military victory for the Yugoslav army?

[Kucan] A military victory will serve no purpose. It is therefore vital for the guns to be silenced. The Serbian minority in Croatia must also be convinced that the maintenance of Croatian territorial integrity will not endanger them. We must think in terms of open borders and freedom of movement. The choice is clear. Either we opt for a political path which will open the door to democratic Europe for us, or we opt for the Balkans and a violent solution to the crisis.

Kucan Interviewed on Independence, Future Prospects

AU0810104391 Vienna AZ in German 8 Oct 91 p 7

[Interview with President Milan Kucan by Tessa Szyszkowitz; place and date not given: "Vranitzky Convinced Me"]

[Text] [Szyszkowitz] Mr. President, do you already have your new passport?

[Kucan] Yes, as of today. The number is 000,001.

[Szyszkowitz] You have traveled much over the past few weeks. Have you noticed a change in the position of Western Europe as regards recognition?

[Kucan] There is a positive trend. Slowly Slovenia's sovereignty is being accepted as a fact. For us it is important that de facto we already have economic relations as an independent republic.

[Szyszkowitz] Austria was criticized in Ljubljana and Zagreb because it has not undertaken an independent action concerning recognition.

[Kucan] From the moral point of view recognition by Austria is very important. But Chancellor Vranitzky's arguments convinced me. It would be good if Austria influenced the EC and then there would be collective recognition. It is also important that Vranitzky explained this in the United States.

[Szyszkowitz] When do you expect formal recognition of Slovenia?

[Kucan] So far the West has adopted the position that Yugoslavia should remain in existence to ensure peace. The war has destroyed this myth in the West.

[Szyszkowitz] You grew up as an internationalist. What do you feel in view of the fact that Yugoslavia is crumbling into small states?

[Kucan] The issue is not new walls. The republics should live together on the basis of the Helsinki resolutions. However, our neighbors have to be ready for this.

[Szyszkowitz] Thus, the nationalist processes do not bother you?

[Kucan] All peoples, be they big or small, have a right to self-determination.

[Szyszkowitz] Do you rule out a future confederation of independent Yugoslav republics after the war?

[Kucan] There is an objective interest in this. After the war it will be shown whether the required minimum of trust still exists.

[Szyszkowitz] Slovenia must redefine its economic relations with the other republics.

[Kucan] We are trying to do so, but we do not have any interlocutors. Serbia is waging an economic war against us; 25 percent of Slovene trade takes place with Serbia, 60 percent with Croatia. It is not easy to replace these markets.

[Szyszkowitz] Slovenia will work out a new constitution. It is said that the "Demos" government alliance wants to delay the constitution to delay the elections that are to be held afterwards.

[Kucan] There is utmost consensus about a constitution in line with Western standards. But some of "Demos"' parties do not agree with the date.

[Szyszkowitz] Will "Demos" collapse?

[Kucan] It is becoming increasingly difficult to keep the platform together.

Foreign Minister Comments on Independence Efforts

PM0710103091 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 4 Oct 91 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Dimitri Rumpel by Christophe Urbanowicz in Paris; date not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Slovenia, the richest and most European of the Yugoslav republics, will declare its independence on 7 October. This exit from the Yugoslav cauldron could be made easier by the fact that Slovenia is the only republic in the former federation to have a homogeneous population of 2 million inhabitants.

Slovenia started the independence process by adopting a declaration on its sovereignty in July 1990. One month later, it proclaimed the primacy of its laws over federal laws and then organized a referendum on its independence in which the "yes" votes had an overwhelming majority. Slovenia then gave itself six months to take the step. If by then agreement has not been reached on the country's decentralization, it will declare its independence on 26 June 1991. It achieved that with one day to spare. The result is that the Federal Army intervened but, surprised by the Slovenian resistance, it withdrew with Serbia's blessing to concentrate its forces in Croatia. Slovenia then accepted a three-month moratorium on its independence in the agreement reached with the Twelve in Brioni on 7 June. On the eve of the expiry of this moratorium, Slovenian President Milan Kucan and Dimitri Rumpel, his foreign minister, made a visit to Paris on Wednesday and Thursday. They met with President Francois Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to secure France's support.

[Urbanowicz] You have met with President Mitterrand. Did he tell you whether France intended to recognize Slovenia which is due to declare its independence on 7 October?

[Rumpel] President Mitterrand told us, and I quote: "If you want to be independent, then be independent." According to Mr. Mitterrand, the Slovenian problem is "fairly easy" to solve, especially since Serbia does not oppose our independence. That leaves the question of our borders. We are going to rapidly solve the problem of our borders with Croatia. With regard to our external borders, Mr. Mitterrand has advised us to consult Robert Badinter, chairman of the Arbitration Commission of the peace conference on Yugoslavia. From 8 October, Slovenia will attend that conference in The Hague as an independent state, a member of the community of European nations.

[Urbanowicz] Did the meeting with Mr. Mitterrand live up to your expectations?

[Rumpel] Fully. First, because France and Europe have radically changed their position on Slovenia whose independence is already established. Second, because the West now shares the Slovenian and Croatian analysis of the war in Croatia. Serbia has been clearly identified as the aggressor and Europe is now no longer just emphasizing the inviolability of external borders but also of Yugoslavia's internal borders. I think that Europe has not had its final say in the Yugoslav affair. Although the military option is still just as unlikely, the EEC can impose an economic blockade on Serbia and isolate it on the international stage, while giving Croatia economic support. I think that Serbia should be kept under permanent pressure and that the time has come for Europe to start to think of the post-Yugoslavia situation. Yugoslavia is dead, and Europe must acknowledge that and act accordingly. Finally—and this is the third positive aspect of this meeting—we have the impression that Europe is gradually being emancipated from the United States. As Mr. Mitterrand said, this is not just true of this matter of Slovenian independence but also of the independence of Europe which no longer wants to look constantly to the White House.

[Urbanowicz] Is the Yugoslav Federal Army an obstacle to the settlement of the conflict in Croatia?

[Rumpel] There is no doubt about that. I think that the federation, which the Army claims to represent, is the main obstacle to peace. Even more than Serbia's aggressive policy.

Air Traffic Control Agreement Negotiated With Austria

AU0710175991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Marjan Kranjc, Slovene minister for transport and communications, said that the airspace above Slovenia will not be opened tomorrow. Problems are also emerging regarding links in telecommunications. Austria has lent us 11 lines, although we asked for 38, and we are expecting a (?positive) result from the talks with Germany next week.

Marjan Kranjc also said that Slovenia had negotiated with the Austrian authorities that the air traffic control would be carried out for us in Vienna. However, the Austrians imposed a condition that a telephone link is established between Vienna, Belgrade, and Zagreb. Those two lines would primarily ensure security. Belgrade has consented to this, but they are also imposing their own condition. It is expected that we will sign an agreement in Belgrade next week.

This is, of course, a temporary solution, because we have formed an expert group in Ljubljana today that will work exclusively on resolving the question of establishing air traffic control.

Croatia

Government Rejects Presidency's Cease-Fire Conditions

LD0810101891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0849 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Excerpt] London, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatia has refused to accept conditions for a cease-fire set by the SFRY Presidency and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. This was stated today to the British television stations BBC and Sky by Croatian Information Minister Branko Salaj and by Antun Babic, press representative of the Croatian Foreign Ministry. According to them, this decision was reached at a session of the Croatian Presidency last night.

Salaj stressed that there will be no cease-fire as long as YPA units are to be found in Croatia. He repeated a demand that ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet immediately enter the Adriatic Sea and lift the blockade of Croatian ports which has been imposed by the Yugoslav Navy. At the same time, he asked the Western countries to "prevent activities of the Yugoslav Air Force over Croatia." [passage omitted]

Assembly Session Begins, Agenda Adopted

LD0810111391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] A regular session of the Croatian Assembly, held under emergency conditions, was opened with the Croatian national anthem Lijepa Nasa. Assembly President Zarko Domjan established that there was a quorum. With a minute's silence, he paid tribute to the first Croatian Assembly deputy to be killed, Dusan Trivuncic.

A proposed agenda was then adopted. First, the general political situation and developments on the battlefields in Croatia; second, the adoption of measures with legal force which were passed by the president of the Republic of Croatia; third, the adoption of a law of the Croatian Government regarding recognition of Estonia and Latvia as sovereign and independent states; fourth, a proposal to change the law on the power of the Croatian Government to endorse laws regulating certain aspects of the work of the Croatian Assembly; fifth, changes in the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the dismissal of the present secretary and appointment of a new secretary and deputy secretary of the Assembly.

Independence Decision Endorsed

LD0810131291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Vladimir Seks]

[Text] After Prime Minister Franjo Greguric had addressed the deputies at a joint session of the [Croatian] Assembly, which is being held in war conditions, the president of the Assembly put forward a proposal that Assembly Vice President Vladimir Seks first present draft conclusions proceeding from Franjo Greguric's speech. Let us listen to Vladimir Seks:

[Seks] On the basis of Article 140, Paragraph 1 of the Croatian Constitution: —in accordance with the inalienable right of the Republic of Croatia to self-determination, —proceeding from the will of the citizens of the Republic of Croatia expressed in the referendum on 19 May 1991, —proceeding from a constitutional decision on the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Croatia and a declaration on the establishment of the sovereign and independent Republic of Croatia which was adopted by the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia at its session on 25 June 1991, —having reached a conclusion that a three-month moratorium on the implementation of the constitutional decision which was set by the Brioni Declaration expired on 7 October 1991, —having reached a conclusion that within that period set by the Brioni Declaration aggressive operations of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and Serbian terrorists against towns and villages intensified, that hospitals, schools, churches, historic monuments and other civilian facilities were ruthlessly destroyed, and culminated in an attack and bombing of the historical nucleus of Zagreb and Banski Dvori in the seat [passage indistinct] and the government during their session, and particularly having concluded that all bodies of the former SFRY lost their legitimacy and are no longer functioning, by which the former SFRY lost important criteria of existence—this is the preamble—the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, at its joint session held on 8 October 1991, is endorsing the following decision:

First, the Republic of Croatia, as an independent and sovereign state is severing all state and legal links with former Yugoslavia. [applause]. The legal system of former Yugoslavia ceases to be in force throughout the territory of the Republic of Croatia [applause]. The Republic of Croatia is calling on Serbia, Montenegro and the so-called YPA to put an undelayed stop to their aggressive war against the Republic of Croatia. The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia is calling on the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina not to allow the use of its territory for the war against the Republic of Croatia. The so-called YPA is proclaimed an army of aggression and occupation and must without delay leave the territory, parts of territory, of the Republic of Croatia, which it temporarily seized. All states, particularly members of the UN organization, and the EC, are called on to recognize the Republic of Croatia. The Republic of Croatia accepts principles and provisions of the UN Charter, the Helsinki conference final document, CSCE documents and the Paris Charter for a new Europe.

Finally, in accordance with international law regulations, the Republic of Croatia is pledging before other countries and organizations that it will fully respect rights and duties of the former SFRY, in the part referring to the Republic of Croatia. And finally [as heard], the Republic of Croatia will take part in the work

of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, which is organized by the EC member countries.

So, that is the draft, the most important article of which is Article 1 from which all other articles proceed. Therefore, I repeat, this is not any kind of prejudice, but is only an incentive for and an aid to our discussion. Thank you very much. [applause]

Greguric Urges End to Moratorium

LD0810123191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Report by Vlado Kumbrija from the Croatian Assembly session in Zagreb]

[Text] A joint session of all chambers of the Republic of Croatia Assembly is under way. Following the [word indistinct] and adoption of the agenda, Dr Franjo Greguric, president of the Croatian Government, made an introductory speech about the general political situation and the situation on the battlefields in Croatia and [word indistinct] international position. The president of the Croatian Government dwelled on the 67 days of his war mandate. Concluding his speech, Premier Greguric said:

[Begin Greguric recording] At the beginning of this speech I noted the points of the Brioni declaration and, in particular, the three-month moratorium introduced by the decisions of Slovenia and Croatia. Seen in the light of the situation today it is difficult to give a (?precise) answer to the question of whether the Brioni declaration was at all necessary. However, one fact has to be borne in mind. This document marked the beginning of the process of [word indistinct] of the Yugoslav crisis. The answer to the second question—of whether we need another moratorium—is simple. There exists neither the political, nor the military, nor the economic, nor the institutional, nor any other reason for Croatia to agree to an extension of the moratorium. We have proved to the world, to Europe, and to ourselves that we can observe the commitments made even at the cost of enormous suffering. It has been shown that within the former Yugoslavia there is neither the ability nor the readiness to find a solution in the way envisaged by the Brioni declaration—that is, peacefully and democratically. We have shown the determination, courage, and ability to endure [word indistinct] (?blows) in order to defend the freedom and democracy of Croatia. For this reason, ladies and gentlemen, I call upon you to conclude jointly that the moratorium is over and as of (?now the decisions are valid) according to which Croatia is a sovereign and independent state. Thank you. [Applause] [end recording]

[Kumbrija] Assembly President Dr Zarko Domljan then opened the session which is still going on.

Federal Forces Launch Attacks Against Zagreb

Air Force Bombs Tudjman Residence

LD0710161691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Aircraft of the enemy Air Force have hit the roof of Banski Dvori [Croatian President Tudjman's residence] in Gornji Grad in Zagreb at about 1505 [1405 GMT]. The office of Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman is in Banski Dvori. The roof of this historic building, which expresses not just the political reality in Croatia but its history, was damaged. According to available reports, there were no casusalties. Damage is considerable. All of the windows in the building and in nearby houses were shattered, and Banski Dvori and nearby houses are without electricity. Foundations of houses in Gornji Grad, the historic heart of Zagreb, are shattered.

Houses on Ilica street, the main Zagreb street, were also damaged. Shop window were shattered. Several sniper shots have warned all citizens that snipers are starting to operate. [passage omitted]

Missile Attacks Target Barracks

LD0710161891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Glina, 7 Oct (TANJUG)— A TANJUG correspondent in Glina, citing military sources, reports that four surface-to-surface missiles have been launched at Croatian forces in Zagreb.

The National Guard Corps Raktije base, the Lucko base of the special Ministry of Internal Affairs units, and the barracks in Pionirski Grad and Kresetinac were targets of the missile attack, according to the TANJUG correspondent.

The Croatian authorities have not yet mentioned the missile attack.

Military sources have not specified what type of surface-to-surface missile is involved or whether targets were hit.

Three Aircraft Downed Near Vinkovci

LD0710172691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian air defenses shot down three enemy aircraft near Vinkovci today. The first aircraft fell on Mirkovci village, the second on Ostrovo village, and the third on Nustar village.

Air Force Destroys Korcula Radio Facilities

LD0710201991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by Korcula correspondent Zeljan Petkovic]

[Text] At 1538 [1438 GMT], air raid sirens were sounded to warn people to go to shelters because of a possible air attack by enemy jets. Shortly afterward—after seven minutes, at 1545 precisely—sirens were sounded to warn of the danger of fires. According to the Korcula national guard corps headquarters, the enemy jets fired missiles at and destroyed a radio center used by the health center of the Republic of Croatia, situated above Zrnovo. A passerby was slightly injured while picking grapes in a vineyard. The same aircraft also fired missiles and destroyed the facilities of the Korcula radio center at Vranac Hill, near Vela Luka. A relay facility was hit. It seems that the enemy's goal is to destroy all telephone and other links in the municipality.

Aircraft Shell Downtown Osijek; No Injuries Reported

LD0710171391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1601 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] At about 1500 [1400 GMT], air raid sirens were sounded in Osijek for the second time today. Two aircraft shelled downtown Osijek and the southeastern suburbs. No injuries have been reported so far. Unlike the surrounding villages of Laslovo, Antunovac Tenjski, and Ernestinovo, Osijek was quiet in the morning. The defenders on the southern approaches to Osijek were again the target of terrorist attacks from mortar launchers and infantry weapons. [Word indistinct] came under attack from mortar shells from the direction of Sarvas ad Bijelo Brdo. The hospital in Osijek admitted 40 people over the last 24 hours, 19 of which had serious injures. Four have subsequently died. Since 2 May, the Osijek general hospital has admitted 1,626 victims of the war. Out of this number, 248 were bodies of people killed in this war of destruction.

145 Injured in 'Fierce Attacks' on Karlovac

LD0710164391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Davor Matijasic]

[Excerpt] Fierce attacks on Karlovac by local Chetniks and those infiltrated from Loznica and Valjevo in cooperation with the army of occupation have been continuing unabated since 1300 GMT today. The Karlovac crisis headquarters reports that the civic center, a nursing home, a nursery, the town museum, a library, and many other buildings in the center of town have been hit. A total of 145 persons sustained injuries. How many people were killed is still unknown. The biggest danger in the town is the snipers of the fifth column. Yet another sniper nest was found today in the belfry of St. Nicholas Church. Their targets were elderly people who were being evacuated from the nursing home. [passage omitted]

Army Troops Reported Advancing to Zadar Town Center

AU0710151691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Excerpt] The measure of restricted movement has been proclaimed in Benkovac so that one can react efficiently and quickly to the possible withdrawal of the broken up Ustasha groups from Zadar through the Benkovac region.

Armed Croatian fighters have today attacked from Vrana and other villages at the borders between Zadar and Benkovac and between Biograd and Benkovac. During their advance this morning, members of the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army found six corpses of Croatian fighters near the Zadar (?Polikem) plant alone. The situation is (?similar) in many other places in Zadar. There are only some 100 meters to go until the town center.

Artillery forces of the Yugoslav People's Army Knin Corps called from Zadar about noon. They thanked Blagoje Adzic, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and the Corps Command for the congratulations on their day, 8 October. The congratulations message was sent by Blagoje Adzic and the Command while the troops were at the front. They said: We are all accounted for, and you should expect good news soon.

Croat fighters in Zadar have been left with no choice but to fly a white flag. It is said that Zadar Mayor (Ivo Lirjanic) is ready to negotiate the end of war. However, during the recent several days, the Zadar side, although it was the one to have insisted upon negotiations, has forgotten to come to attend them.

Members of the local Yugoslav People's Army Garrison, particularly those from the Djuro Djakovic barracks, have been taking part in fighting in Zadar since yesterday. As we have been informed in the past, families of military personnel and of civilians working for the Army were accommodated in the Djuro Djakovic barracks for more than a month, and Croat fighters attacked the barracks frequently. Tanks from the Sepurine Barracks also took part in the action.

Here are reports from Lika: Medak was shelled from Bilaj last night, and shots were also fired from Perusic and Budak, (?as well as) against Desnigrad, which shows that the final action of breaking the blockade on military facilities in nearby Gospic has not yet begun. The renewed Sixth Lika Division will also take part in this action. [passage omitted]

Army, Air Force Attacks on Zagreb, Karlovac, Zadar

LD0710122791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpts] At 0700 today, enemy aircraft, making two passes, attacked Siljakovina and the area between this village and Maia Buna, 15 km south of Zagreb. This is the continuation of an attack begun at dawn when, at 0430 enemy aircraft attacked Buna. Detonations from heavy artillery are still being heard from this area. Croatian forces are responding to the attack.

The all-clear signal was sounded shortly before 1000 in Zagreb, nearly three hours after the air raid siren went off this morning. An air raid siren also went off in Zagreb this morning at around 0430. The crisis management center reports that two aircraft, which took off from Pula, fired missiles, first at Sljeme, the mountain overlooking Zagreb, and then at Buna and the region of Velika Gorica. The all clear was given at 0500.

Earlier last night, at 0100, the siren indicating a general danger sounded in Zagreb. No enemy aircraft were reported, but areas between Zagreb and Samobor came under rocket fire launched from an unknown direction. [passage indistinct]

Heavy fighting was reported in the Karlovac area this morning. The Croatian forces are keeping their positions there. A number of bodies of civilians killed by sniper fire from the Petrova Gora barracks in Karlovac are still lying in the street. [passage omitted]

The heavy fighting that was going on around Zadar stopped late last night, but some sporadic shooting can still be heard. The city center was bombarded yesterday, and there was also shooting from the [name indistinct] barracks. Cluster bombs were used in the latest attacks. The town of Zadar, apart from being cut off from the world, is without water and electricity as well.

Several detonations were heard after 0800 this morning at Osijek, but there is still no information about where the mortars fell. Osijek was also the target of enemy attacks earlier this morning at Marsibor, the village along the southern defense line of the city. [passage omitted]

Another heavy attack on Vukovar and Borovo Naselje started at 0800 this morning. Five hundred mortars landed on Vukovar during the night. The attacks are being conducted from Negoslavci [words indistinct] in Serbian territory. The Croatian Defense Force has managed to repel all attacks.

Defenders fighting on the western front of the Sibenik area managed to destroy a number of enemy tanks in fighting there. Due to well-organized air defense in this area, enemy planes are flying at high altitudes now. [passage omitted] The city of Dubrovnik has been left without water and electricity, and the telephone lines are down. A curfew from 2100 until 0500 in the morning has been imposed there.

Tudjman Holds Regular News Conference in Zagreb

Hopes for More International Aid

LD0710232891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Correspondent Andjelko Perincic report on news conference by President Franjo Tudjman normally held on the first Monday of every month in Zagreb—recorded]

[Text] [Perincic] Judging by the replies President Tudjman gave today further and more specific international community assistance to Croatia can be expected during the next few days. The message to stop the mindless war against Croatia which came from Moscow is testimony that the USSR has joined the Western world which wants the aggression to end and political solutions devised in a peaceful way.

It would be desirable now if the U.S. Sixth Fleet were to enter the Adriatic and if some WEU or French forces were to protect European observers and about 30,000 men from these forces were to establish peace between the warring sides. President Tudjman reiterated that Croatia is for peace and that it cannot lift the blockade on the barracks for this very reason because if that were to happen the occupying forces would take up many positions without taking up a commitment to cease their attacks. They have done this more than once. Croatia will defend itself with all the means at its disposal during this intensified offensive during which, after they signed The Hague documents, the aggressors opened up new battlefields trying to raze to the ground our jewels, starting with Dubrovnik and ending with Zadar and Osijek. This is why whenever we can we will seize weapons from the occupiers who from the equipment point of view are much better armed.

Besides, President Tudjman recalled:

[Tudjman] It is clear that with our blockade of the barracks we want to force the aggressor army to leave Croatia and also because, as you yourselves have said, we want to obtain the arms that this Yugoslav Army has taken from Croatian territorial defense, when it disarmed Croatia before democratic authorities took office, and also the arms which, as I have said, we were unable to obtain abroad, and consequently have had to obtain during this defensive war.

[Perincic] Besides, President Tudjman said, we once were for a federation of sovereign states on Yugoslav territory, but the war had its effect and it is hard to see how there can be coexistence with the aggressors.

As far as the relations on the territory of former Yugoslavia are concerned, President Tudjman answered one

question. He was asked to comment on the statement by President of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic about that republic's desire not to take part in this war. President Tudjman welcomed this stance. However, he added that it would be desirable if Bosnia-Hercegovina not only dissociated itself from the war, but help prevent and stop it because it is a fact that the offensives by the occupiers against Croatia originate also from this republic, starting with eastern Hercegovina and ending with eastern Posavina.

Advocating peace once again he recalled the wise adage that even the most expensive peace is cheaper than the cheapest war.

Says 'Croatia Will Become Independent'

LD0710163491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatia will become independent today, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, said today. Tudjman told a regular monthly news conference at Banski Dvori, in Zagreb, that the moratorium on a decision to set in motion procedures for disassociation which Croatia accepted three months ago expires today and that Croatia will now implement the constitutional decisions adopted on the basis of the referendum.

Today, we want to see the crisis resolved peacefully, Tudjman said, adding that Croatia would propose an international peace conference which, unlike The Hague conference, would not consider restoring peace but would tackle the issue of disassociation between current Yugoslav republics. We still favor a way out of the crisis without a war and through negotiations, the Croatian president said.

Dr. Tudjman denied the existence of "a new Croatian foreign policy" as announced yesterday by Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic. However, he noted that he had always doubted that The Hague agreement would be observed and, therefore, suggested that, in addition to effective and efficient economic sanctions, the international community, the EC, and the United States should also demonstrate small-scale military force to suppress the aggression against Croatia. "It would be very desirable if units of the Sixth U.S. Fleet were to sail into the Adriatic and if the democratic countries were to find the way of blocking the airspace and the use of the air force," Croatian president explained. [passage omitted]

Asked about an attack yesterday by Croatian forces on the barracks in Samobor, Tudjman said that the action was taken to enable the Croatian Army to lay its hands on necessary weapons. Referring to a possible attack on barracks in Zagreb, the Croatian president explained that Croatia was forced into a war. "While the Yugoslav People's Army is attacking Karlovac, only 50 kilometres from Zagreb, we cannot sit idle. We will attack where our chances look most favorable, Dr. Tudjman said. [passage omitted]

Tudjman: Croatian Independence Moratorium Ends Today

LD0710124191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatia is becoming independent today, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said at a regular monthly press conference in Zagreb today, adding that the moratorium on the process of dissociation is expiring and hence Croatia will adopt decisions in accordance with its earlier orientations.

The Croatian president said that a war has been imposed on Croatia, and so it has to return blows "wherever conditions for that exist." This was Tudjman's reply to a question regarding "attacks of Croatian forces on barracks", as happened yesterday in Samobor near Zagreb. Tudjman expressed hope that the international community will demonstrate force in order to stop attacks by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] on Croatia, and mentioned a possible proposal that the U.S. Sixth Fleet should "enter the Adriatic sea" and "prevent the war actions by YPA aircraft" over Croatia.

Seeks Legitimized Independence

LD0710140291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, stated today that the Soviet proposal for an absolute cease-fire in Croatia was evidence that not just the free western world but also Eastern Europe—communist-run until recently—wishes to prevent further offensives and actions by [word indistinct] and outlaws. President Tudjman also said that he expects Croatian officials to pass decisions legitimizing the independence of the Republic of Croatia as envisaged by the constitution. After that, Croatia will seek recognition for its independence and statehood from the international community.

Deputy Prime Minister on Independence Possibilities

LD0710224691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Interview with Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac by correspondent Vilmos Kovacs on 7 October; place not given; Tomac speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kovacs] The moratorium expires today, and Croatia will become independent. Can total independence be achieved when there are fights in the republic?

[Tomac] The answer is in the question. Independence cannot be achieved while the war is on and while a part of the republic is occupied. We aim to achieve total independence despite this. The moratorium expires

today, which means that Croatia has become independent from a legal point of view. Parliament will be in session tomorrow and the day after tommorrow. It will adopt international conventions and reintroduce the laws which have been frozen due to the moratorium. In addition, we will start independent legislation and building the state structure.

Yugoslavia does not exist, since Slovenia has also declared independence. We feel a coordinating body should be set up, in the operation of which republics and provinces would also participate and which would discuss further prospects. Due to the fact that Slovenia and Croatia have become independent and because not one federal body is functioning and because a coup has taken place in Belgrade, the world understands that it is now facing a new situation. I feel that this is the way out. Several foreign countries establish that Yugoslavia does not exist, thereby recognizing the sovereignty of the republics. Then the new states continue talks on the disputed questions, the inviolability of borders, and ending the war under international observation. Finally, introduce sanctions against those who want to solve the problem violently.

On behalf of the Croatian Government, let me thank the participants of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish tripartite meeting for their stand on us. I believe they judged the situation impartially, by which they help Croatia and the other republics ensure the war does not continue.

[Kovacs] Is coexistence possible after the war?

[Tomac] It is necessary. People must live somehow, even after the war. Whether confederation is possible, it would be too early to answer this question while fights continue. If the war was over, and democratically formed states were created, and those who are waging a war against us would leave power, then relations could surely be strengthened. What they would be like, it is difficult to say. Damages are so great in Croatia and such destruction is taking place that the possibility of confederation is small. I would not exclude the possibility that we could reach agreements on peaceful coexistence and on economic cooperation.

[Kovacs] In Serbia, they say that the war broke out due to the situation of the Serbs living in Croatia.

[Tomac] [passage omitted] There is no problem which we do not want to resolve but we will not give up parts of Croatia. The war did not break out because of the situation of minorities but because they want to take away territory from Croatia, territory where 80 percent of the population are Croats, and because they wanted to push Croatia into a federation where the Milosevic-type policy dominates. Minorities were only used for this purpose. We stand up at international conferences for the minorities living in the former Yugoslavia—that is, Croats, Magyars, Albanians, Mohammadans—to receive the rights which we guarantee for the Serbs living in Croatia.

Krajina Stresses Right To Foreign Recognition

LD0710175191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1454 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—We can talk to the Republic of Croatia only about the borders and a possible confederal relationship on the basis of clearly defined mutual interests, most probably in the sphere of economic relations, Lazar Macura, information minister in the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Krajina, told TANJUG. Macura's statement was made prior to the departure of representatives of the SAR of Krajina to The Hague to attend negotiations on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

According to Macura, all the documents of the Krajina government and statements by its leaders proceed from the outcome of the referendum on disassocation from the Republic of Croatia and the Serbian people's decision to join other nations that wish to remain in Yugoslavia together with Serbia, Montenegro, and possibly with a larger part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as reiterated by Milan Babic in reaction to an invitation to participate in negotiations in The Hague.

Macura also said that, like many previous occasions, Milan Babic will stress in The Hague that the people of the SAR of Krajina will not accept any solution which ignores the factual state of affairs. The official circles close to the Krajina government have been stressing a nation's basic right to self-determination and independence. If this right is recognized for others, and we have no objections to it, then we must also be given the same right, Knin insists.

In light of this generally accepted principle, Krajina sees itself as either an independent federal unit in one of the possible variations of the future Yugoslav state community or as a state of Krajina together with the Bosnian Krajina as part of Yugoslavia or with a special autonomous status in the Republic of Serbia.

Official Krajina interprets the invitation to attend the work of one of the subcommittees of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia as another step toward its international recognition and affirmation.

The Krajina delegation in The Hague will be headed by Milan Babic, president of the Krajina government, and will include Lazar Macura.

Krajina To Participate in Select Hague Committees

LD0810000191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2319 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Krajina government Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] will not participate in the work of one of the subcommittees of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia .

This was decided during the SAR Krajina government session tonight. Milan Babic, its president, told journalists:

"We insist on representing the SAR Krajina. We do not accept any form of talks which would treat us as a national minority in the Republic of Croatia."

The letter sent to Lord Carrington tonight points out certain imprecisions "which could become a source of misunderstandings," and it is suggested that SAR Krajina, through its government, should be included in the work of The Hague conference at commission level for a possible institutional framework of solving the Yugoslav constitutional and political crisis.

However, the SAR Krajina government decided tonight to send Dr. Misa Milosevic, secretary general of the World Serbian Community [Svjetska Srpska Zajednica], which is a nongovernment and a nonparty organization, for the first meeting with Lord Carrington's envoy, conference coordinator Wijnaendts.

Croatian Serbs Send Delegation to Hague Talks

LD0710140691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Dalj, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—A delegation from the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem will attend The Hague peace conference tomorrow, led by the president of its government, Goran Hadzic.

TANJUG has learned from circles close to the top leadership of the Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem that Hadzic will present to The Hague peace conference stands coordinated with the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. That platform is based on the basic provisions of the so-called "Constitutional Law", of the region, according to which this region is an "autonomous federal unit within Yugoslavia and is equal to other federal units which adopted a decision to remain in Yugoslavia."

The delegation of the Serbian region will explain to the EC representatives its stand that conflicts in Croatia are not taking place in order to create an alleged "Greater Serbia", but because of the wish of the Serbian people in Croatia, expressed in the referendum, to remain in Yugoslavia if Croatia adopts a definite decision to secede.

Illegal TIGR Group Reestablishes, Advocates Violence

LD0510181991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Text] Pula, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—A group of Istrians in Pula have publicly announced their decision to reestablish the illegal TIGR (Trieste-Istria-Gorica-Rijeka) organization under a new name—the Istrian Radical Organization (Istarska Radikalna Organizacija, IRO). The group said that all violence would be countered by violence. The TIGR is a Slovene-Croatian organization which, under the fascist regime, trained young people for uprising and was involved in sabotage operations. It was also joined by Vladimir Gortan, celebrated by the Istrian people as a World War II fighter and their hero. The new organization supports the democratic power in Croatia but warns, however, that it is not the time for celebrations, parades, or fighting for high-ranking posts but for a decisive settling of scores.

Serbia

Foreign Minister on Territorial Claims, Cease-Fire

AU0710140191 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Oct 91 pp 194-195

[Unattributed interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic; place and date not given: "The Army Has Made Many Mistakes"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] The Yugoslav State Presidency, which is dominated by Serbia, has seized power. What do you expect from this coup?

[Jovanovic] The State Presidency decides on war and peace, and this was once more confirmed last week. It is the supreme commander of the Army ....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...but President Stipe Mesic did not participate in that session.

[Jovanovic] That is his problem. Mesic travels around the world in his capacity as Yugoslav state president without the State Presidency knowing about it. He represents nothing but Croatian interests.

[DER SPIEGEL] Any cease-fire agreement in Yugoslavia seems to be a question of interpretation. Who is responsible for the fact that the killing does not stop?

[Jovanovic] Croatia's Tudjman only wants peace once he has dealt the final blow to the Army or once the Army is driven out of Croatia and he has won back those territories that are now under Serbian control.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Army is shelling "vital" facilities in Croatian cities. Is this the right thing for a people's army to do?

[Jovanovic] What right does Tudjman have to attack the Army? What other means does it have to react? Maybe this is now going to bring Tudjman to reason. His principle of "the worse—the better" has now yielded the expected result. He wanted to force Europe to recognize Croatia diplomatically and have foreign powers carry out an armed intervention.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is Serbia's objective—creating Greater Serbia through the use of force—so much more noble?

[Jovanovic] As one of the victorious powers after World War I we would have been able to create Greater Serbia.

and even after World War II, if we had supported Draza Mihajlovic instead of Tito and his federal idea. It was the Comintern that first came up with the lie of a Greater Serbia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you want to keep other republics in a crumbling alliance through force?

[Jovanovic] We do not deny anyone the right of secession from Yugoslavia. Yet what right do the Croats have to make a unilateral declaration and force the Serbs who live there to accompany them on their path toward independence? We are demanding the right to self-determination only for those Serbs who live in regions where they are the majority.

[DER SPIEGEL] That is to say in those areas, that have been occupied by the Army: Krajina, Banija, and Slavonia.

[Jovanovic] We do not demand the right to self-determination for th se 400,000 Serbs who live in other parts of Croatia. Serbia does not have any territorial claims at all against other republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about human rights in Kosovo? Why should the 2 million Albanians there not also be granted the right to self-determination and be allowed to leave Serbia?

[Jovanovic] Stop, stop! The Albanians are a minority in Yugoslavia and they are not a people. They do not have a right to self-determination but only a right to preserve their ethnic, cultural, and religious identity. The referendum cannot change that. There is no way that they can get a republic let alone a state of their own.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you grant the other peoples who live in Serbia—for example the Muslims in Sandzak or the Croats who live in Serbia—the right to secede?

[Jovanovic] This question is not on the agenda. We are not seceding from Yugoslavia. Together with Montenegro, and maybe also with Bosnia and Macedonia, we will succeed the current Yugoslavia.

[DER SPIEGEL] And what are the Serbs up to in Dubrovnik, Sibenik, Zadar—Croatian cities that have been bombed for weeks?

[Jovanovic] Nothing. We do not have any claims. The fighting there only has to do between the Army and Croatia. Croatian guards have blocked the barracks there.

[DER SPIEGEL] U.S. Secretary of State Baker has stated that Serbia and the Army are the main culprits in the civil war.

[Jovanovic] A disastrous mistake in U.S. policy, and a sign of how confused U.S. officials are at the moment. They are exclusively guided by the propaganda of Croatian politicians.

[DER SPIEGEL] How would Serbia react if the West were to dispatch armed forces to Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] I would not recommend anybody to take such a step. It would be an invasion. We have a tradition not to accept any guest that was not invited. Those who come to us with weapons in their hands will be received with weapons.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think that this issue is no longer on the agenda of the United Nations or the EC?

[Jovanovic] That was more a tactical move or a threat than a serious consideration. Only the Croats believed it, because they thought Europe would be naive enough to get involved in such an adventure.

[DER SPIEGEL] The peace conference in The Hague has got stuck. Can you see a compromise?

[Jovanovic] There is a glimmer of hope as long as Tudjman and Milosevic continue their talks. After all, of all the Yugoslav peoples, we Serbs and Croats are the most closely related. We speak almost the same language and have the greatest number of mixed marriages. If we eliminate the problems that divide us, then it should be possible to find a joint form of future coexistence.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you agree to political autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia, maybe monitored by the United Nations or the EC?

[Jovanovic] We are ready to agree to anything the Serbs in Croatia opt for. If they want to give Tudjman yet another chance and go along with him into an independent Croatia we will accept it. The same applies to Bosnia. If Bosnia were to follow the Croatian or Slovene example, then three peoples would have a right to self-determination: Serbs, Croats, and Muslims.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far the Army has fought for you. What will you do if the Army disintegrates?

[Jovanovic] The Army only protects the Serbs who are threatened. If we had not had the Army, there would have been a massacre a long time ago. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Army is weak. It has made many mistakes and is not exactly in the best of shape.

[DER SPIEGEL] Generals have changed over to the Croatian side, while others have committed suicide. Thousands of Serbian recruits have deserted.

[Jovanovic] Deserting is a question of ethics and character. Naturally, the current situation has demoralized many recruits. It has been a severe blow for the Army as well as for the Serbs. Nevertheless, we hope that the Army will recover. Our Army was trained in the Yugoslav style, it is Tito's Army.

[DER SPIEGEL] It is strange that Serbia, which most fiercely attacks Tito and even wants to move his grave to another place, should refer to "Tito's Army"?

[Jovanovic] Serbia has no reason to be proud of Tito, because he preferred the Croats and the Slovenes. Nevertheless, Tito's Army was a symbol of the federation.

Fighting in Okucani Area; 200 'Ustashas' Killed

AU0710171491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Milan Djajic report from Okucani]

[Text] Battles for every house were waged yesterday and today on the west Slavonia front on the northern borders of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, along all three firing lines of the Okucani region: to the east in the villages of Trnava and Medari toward Nova Gradiska and to the west in the villages of Jazavica, (?Rozdanici), and (?Vucarica) toward Novska, as well as in Lipik and Pakrac. Units of the Banja Luka corps of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Territorial Defense, and volunteers are inflicting serious defeats on the Ustasha paramilitary formations, destroying the fascist military personnel and material combat means, to put it in military terms.

For example, in just one place in the liberated village of Gornji Rajic, the territorials buried 73 dead Ustashas, who are no longer removed from the battlefield by their war leaders in their panic to flee the Serbian villages to which they came intoxicated with hatred, drugs, and alcohol.

Before the units of the Army and the Territorial Defense on this western line of the front in the Okucani region, only the Ustasha stronghold in the village of Grabovac near Novska remains, and on the southern line of this front, the final liberation of Jasenovac is to come as part of the Okucani commune, yet another liberated commune in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

Ustasha forces were crushed today in the direction of Nova Gradiska. Cernik, and Resetari, the past and present center of Ustasha military and church authority under whose auspices, the genocide of the Serbian people in these Serbian lands has once again been attempted. Ustasha formations in the Serbian village of Poljane toward Nova Gradiska are today holding 150 people from this village as a shield.

There is the unofficial figure, which is nevertheless quite close to the truth, that 200 Ustashas have been put out of action in the operations of the units of the Banja Luka corps and the Territorial Defense of Okucani.

Serbian Royal Family Returns to Belgrade

LD0610232491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2047 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic, the only surviving son of former Yugoslav King Aleksandar the First, arrived in Belgrade this evening.

He arrived in the company of Prince Vladimir and Princess Lavinia, the children of his late brother Andrej. They were accompanied by John Kennedy, a prospective parliamentary candidate of the British Conservative Party.

In addition to their numerous friends, the Karadjordjevics were met at Belgrade airport by the leaders of the Serbian National Renewal and the Serbian royalist bloc as well as several hundred people who gave them a tumultuous welcome.

The welcoming party also included Budimir Kosutic, vice president of the Serbian Government, who explained that he was at the airport as a private citizen. He added that at a recent dinner with the royal family in London, organized by the Conservative Party, the royal family expressed a wish that Kosutic should met them in Belgrade. Kosutic said that he also came to welcome John Kennedy, prospective parliamentary Conservative candidate.

I am here to be with the people to help the refugees from this war conflagration. Politics does not interest me, Prince Tomislav said at a news conference. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Seen as Unlikely To Heed Mesic's Call to Fight

AU0710195791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report; from "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The potential southern front, i.e. Kosovo, is still peaceful, though not everyone is satisfied with that. Presidency President Stjepan Mesic in an interview with the paper ZERI called on Albanians to fight.

It does not require a great effort to explain why Mesic calls Albanians to war, promising that foreign aid will not be lacking. It appears, however, that Albanians have a different opinion when it comes to the so-called southern front, primarily for practical reasons. By an armed uprising in Kosovo and Metohija, Albanian separatists would only be doing the Croatian authorities a favor. Kosovo and Albanians would only suffer loses in that case, and that is well-known here.

More serious analysts [word indistinct] maintain that the Albanian leaders are now aware that the price paid so far for the favors to Croatia and Slovenia is too high to allow them to get involved in another adventure. The assertion that Albanians will not enter the war is illustrated here mainly by the fact that they are not armed, but also by the fact that Albanian leaders in both World War I and II knew how to preserve their people from bloodshed by siding with the stronger.

On the other hand, those who maintain that a storm is brewing in Kosovo also have their arguments. All disorder so far has started by bringing the children out on the streets. Last week Albanian high school and college students demonstrated every day. The dissatisfaction of the labor force is also mentioned increasingly frequently. Those who insist that 7 October is the crisis day for Kosovo too, usually get the answer that the cost of secession is much greater than the imaginary referendum. It appears that Albanians are not ready to pay such a price at this time.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Declares Bosnia-Hercegovina's Neutrality

AU0710130791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Oct 91

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, addressed Bosnia-Hercegovina residents on the Sarajevo Television newscast tonight. We are carrying his appeal for peace in full:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] The situation that has emerged in the country, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina in particular, is very grave and serious. We have found ourselves in such a situation through no fault of our own and this situation demands that I address you in such a manner. I speak in my own name and in the name of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. Disregard for the cease-fire, and the announced new mass mobilization on both sides—as you can see in the country, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and on the other side of the rivers Sava and Una—herald an even bloodier war. Therefore, they herald more dead, more wounded, more people buried underneath the rubble, people thirsting in the burned-down houses, more destroyed towns, villages, hamlets.

What is going on now is the work of insane people who cannot agree on peace, who do not want to agree on peace. We do not know what their motives are, finally, we cannot comprehend what is going on. Not only do they not listen to the residents of this country who want peace, who wish to work and settle in their workshops, on their fields, schools, they do not even listen to the appeals, that is to say friendly appeals, of Europe and of the world. Our duty, that is to say, the duty of Bosnia-Hercegovina residents would be to prevent this bloodshed in every possible way. However, as you can see, not only this is not in our power, it is also not in the power of other, much stronger [peoples]. Therefore, we cannot achieve this.

However, what we can do is refuse to take part in this madness. Therefore, departing from the republics' sovereignty, from the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Presidency stance, and I am sure voicing the will of the vast majority of Bosnia-Hercegovina residents, I hereby declare the neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina in this war.

I am informing you, our public, about this in such a manner. Tomorrow I will—if I am alive and well—use regular channels, regular diplomatic ways, to inform the world public, the EC, the CSCE members, and the United States about it. I will let everybody know that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not wish to participate in this insane act. On the basis of what I have just stated, and on the basis of the conclusions upon which the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Presidency adopted its decision on mobilization, your true duty as Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens is not to respond to the mobilization or to the calls for participation in the civil war. It is not your duty, remember this, nothing binds you to raise your hands against each other. Instead of doing that, instead of raising your hands against each other, instead of shooting at each other, because as somebody said last night the others will then certainly shoot at us, if you (?manage to) burn a village, they will then burn our village. Therefore, refrain from this, refuse to take a part in it.

I know that it takes a lot of courage to do something like this. I am personally aware of the risk I am exposing myself to by calling for peace. Unfortunately, such times have come that one needs more courage to save the peace than to participate in a war. I am calling upon you to master the courage and refuse to participate in these evil deeds. Remember, this is not our war. Those who want to wage it, let them wage it, but we do not want it. Therefore, help us! Do everything you can together with us in order to preserve peace in Bosnia. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Meets With Serb, Croat Representatives

AU0710211291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] HINA has learned from circles close to the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, had separate talks today with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Stjepan Kljuic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In these talks, the representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina rejected Izetbegovic's idea on the neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In connection with halting the southern front toward Dubrovnik, the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina believes that Dubrovnik should surrender.

Representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, supported Izetbegovic's idea on the neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina and asked that it be fully implemented and that Bosnia-Hercegovina act in accordance with it.

It has been reported that the representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community supported the view that the neutralization could be maintained if Bosnia-Hercegovina were to prevent fighting and shooting from

its territory at the Republic of Croatia. If such neutrality is not secured, the representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina will withdraw from all organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Montenegro

Republic's Reponse to Mobilization Outlined

AU0510181491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Oct 91

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] Dubrovnik country [words indistinct] for the Yugoslav (?flag of freedom) to fly on it as soon as possible. The artillery and armored vehicles of our combat units, particularly in Ravna, Cilipi, [name indistinct], and Ustasha [name indistinct], are trying to force the Croatian formations to save themselves, the Dubrovnik people, and their cultural heritage [word indistinct], and to surrender.

Instead of white flags, they continue to hold [word indistinct] modern weapons with which in the last 24 hours they have killed another two members of our army, Radovan Miodrag Razmatovic from Cetinje and Miodrag Susic from Prijepolje. The following have been slightly wounded: Peko Remzija, Simo Ratkovic, Milos Brigavac, Ljubo Bres, and Vido Brnjan.

Only yesterday Montenegro said farewell to seven of its soldiers and [words indistinct] who have been wounded so far from this republic. As pointed out in the republican parliament yesterday, this is yet another reason to answer force with force because evil is not done [words indistinct].

In all 20 communes, to all intents and purposes only mobilization is under way, as well as departure for the front line. The 250 (?Kotor) volunteers include seven women. Cetinje is, so to speak, on its feet: 320 volunteers for the front lines and more than 500 blood donors. The Cetinje electronics factory has supplied refrigeration for the blood.

Three hundred reserve soldiers have left from Budva. Army units of the Uzice, Nevesinje, and Titograd corps and others are receiving, so to speak, too much personnel and material aid, so this morning the Boka naval sector issued a statement as to how to do this without hindering the implementation of basic offensive operations. The aim is to make sure the enemy surrenders or to force them to do so, as General Sokic, the unit commander, said, but it looks that the latter will have to be done.

Dr. Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian radicals, is on this battlefield today.

Army Claims 150 Croatians Killed Near Dubrovnik

LD0710164991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Dubrovnik, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting has been going on all morning in and around the approaches to Cavtat, about 15 kilometres from Dubrovnik.

TANJUG's Herceg Novi correspondent reports that a meeting was to take place this morning to negotiate the surrender of Cavtat, which is under the control of the Croatian forces. However, instead of coming to the meeting, Croatian forces attacked the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units near Cavtat at about 1000 this morning, military sources say.

According to the military authorities, the Army has taken Zekavica village, several kilometres from Cavtat. It is said that 15 members of the Croatian forces were killed and 36 captured.

The military authorities also claim that fierce battles are being waged for Osojnik village, 15 kilometres north of Dubrovnik. [passage omitted]

The military authorities have announced that a large number of volunteers from Titograd, Uzice, Trebinje, Valjevo, and other towns has arrived at Dubrovnik battlefield.

The military authorities described the moral in the YPA units as being in constant ascendancy, but at the same time they condemned "waverers and deserters and those who failed to respond to the call-up."

Strict measures are being threatened against those who open fire from personal weapons irresponsibly thus threatening the lives of innocent people.

According to the military authorities, about 150 members of the Croatian forces have so far been killed in the fighting around Dubrovnik. Croatian authorities have made no statement regarding the losses.

According to available information, there was no damage to the old part of Dubrovnik.

'Enormous' Damage in Sisak; 'Fierce Attack' in Dubrovnik

LD0810081191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] In a fierce attack last night on Dubrovnik's suburb of Mokosic, nine citizens were killed and many sustained injuries. This was confirmed this morning by the Rijeka Dubrovacka crisis headquarters. Last night, the Dubrovnik battlefield passed somewhat more peacefully than the previous one. Sporadic shooting took place along all defense lines where the Croatian Army is in firm control of its positions. Dubrovnik is still without water, electricity, and telephone communications.

Serbian terrorists, aided by the Yugo-Army, launched a mortar attack on Nustar this morning. The attack is still in progress. A mortar attack on Osijek is also under way.

At about 0200 this morning, the fire brigades of Sisak, its environs, and neighboring towns put out a huge fire in the Sisak oil refinery, which was caused by yesterday's attacks by the army and Chetnik forces. According to details available this morning, damage is enormous, but the fire brigades, civilian protection units, and the management of the refinery managed to prevent even greater damage.

After a turbulent day of fighting in the municipality of Sibenik, which was marked by numerous Croatian Army successes, the night passed without incident. The last provocations by the aggressor in the area of Drnis was recorded at around 2130 last night, and since then it has been peaceful.

The Zagreb city crisis headquarters is advising residents of Zagreb to use their personal vehicles as little as possible and to use public transport instead in order to avoid traffic jams.

Serbs Kill Muslim Youth; 'Mass Emigration' From Sipovo

AU0810100091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] The armed clashes in Croatia are increasingly reflected on Bosnia-Hercegovina. The unprovoked killing of a Muslim youth by members of the militia of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in Sipovo today has caused mass emigration of Muslims from this town to Jajce. Radomir Vukojevic reports:

[Vukojevic] It was not possible to find out how exactly the murder happened as telephones have hardly been working today and armed guards prevented OSLOBODJENJE and Radio Sarajevo journalists from entering the town.

There are no official statements except the one issued by the Jajce Executive Council from its extraordinary session on what was happening in Sipovo. The communique that was read by Mihail Karadzic, president of the Jajce Communal Assembly, in the special program of Jajce Radio states that the murder was committed by a uniformed member of the militia of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. The communique also states that this tragic event was not provoked by anything, and that shooting continued after. A column of Muslim refugees from Sipovo and surrounding places today set off toward the hamlet of Jezero and Jajce. The column mainly consisted of women and children.

The streets of both Jajce and Sipovo are empty tonight. Uneasiness is present in all homes and people fear what the night may bring. Mobilization was announced in Jajce tonight.

Macedonia

Assembly Rejects 'Illegitimate' Presidency Decisions

AU0710174991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 6 Oct 91

[Boris Djordjioski report; from "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The decisions by the presidency of Yugoslavia are not acceptable in Macedonia, at least according to the public announcements. It is also believed that the Yugoslav movements, unfavorable as they are, may now become even more complicated. More details from Boris Djordjiovski.

[Djordjiovski] For Macedonia, the decision of the so-called "The Four from the Presidency" is completely unconstitutional, illegitimate, and represents a coup against the government, thereby completely eliminating the possibility of a democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. It is an attempt to legalize the activity of the military leadership without a legal or constitutional basis and the decision itself fully reveals the strategy of Serbian politics, which is based on force and domination.

These positions were in fact presented by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the state Presidency and were accepted by the Macedonian Assembly delegates. Tupurkovski stated emphatically that he does not accept the decisions of the group from the Presidency because they are not valid, and he believes that they will be rejected by all significant international authorities.

The Macedonian Assembly believes that the decisions of the so-called presidency are insignificant and, as far as Macedonia is concerned, they cannot have any kind of legal effect. However, while they cannot be legally effective, they have caused disturbance in Macedonia.

Since the Macedonian Government believes that this republic has not done anything to contribute to the present armed confrontations in Yugoslavia, and thus does not want Macedonian soldiers to be killed in this turmoil of war, it has publicly called on soldiers and officers to return to Macedonia. This call is addressed to Macedonian soldiers and officers, much the same call was addressed to those who have already abandoned the Yugoslav People's Army.

Further, it was demanded that Serbian reservists who are doing military exercises here, immediately leave Macedonian territory. It is believed that their stay in Macedonia is ambiguous, because this republic does not need to be defended from anyone. Thus the reservists should go back.

The government will continue to insist that Macedonian soldiers should not be sent to war areas. In connection with the Presidency's decisions, this government takes the position that everything will be done to defend the territorial integrity of this republic and an order was

given to the Assembly to adopt the declaration of neutrality of Macedonia and to pronounce its territory a demilitarized zone.

This kind of declaration has already been adopted by the all-Macedonian MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] party. All this could only mean that the process of taking precautions against the possible intervention is accelerating, because it is believed that the present Presidency might give legitimate power to the military leaders for war operations even in those parts of the country where the military forces are still inactive.